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**AN INQUIRY**  
**INTO THE**  
**CONSTITUTION, DISCIPLINE, UNITY, AND**  
**WORSHIP,**  
**OF THE**  
**PRIMITIVE CHURCH,**  
**THAT FLOURISHED WITHIN THE FIRST THREE HUNDRED YEARS**  
**AFTER CHRIST.**  
**FAITHFULLY COLLECTED OUT OF**  
**THE FATHERS AND EXTANT WRITINGS OF THOSE AGES.**

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**By PETER KING,**  
**LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND.**

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**WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY THE AMERICAN EDITOR.**

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**NEW-YORK:**  
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## ADVERTISEMENT.

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THE volume now presented to the public in a new dress has been considered by many of the most learned divines not only as a rare exhibition of patient and impartial investigation, but, in its leading facts, a true representation of the government and usages of *the primitive church*. But it is rendered especially interesting to the Methodists as the instrument of breaking down the high church prejudices of Mr. John Wesley, and so of preparing the way for the distinct organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States.

In his Journal for January 20, 1746, Mr. Wesley says, "I set out for Bristol. On the road I read over Lord King's account of the primitive church. In spite of the vehement prejudice of my education, I was ready to believe that his was a fair and impartial draught; but if so, it would follow that bishops and presbyters are (essentially) of one order; and that, originally, every Christian congregation was a church independent on all others."

*Thirty-eight* years after the above was written, in his letter "to Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and the brethren in North America," dated Bristol, September 10, 1784, Mr. Wesley says, "Lord King's account of the primitive church convinced me, many years ago, that bishops and presbyters are the same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain. For many years I have been importuned from time to time to exercise this right, by ordaining part of our travelling preachers. But I have still refused, not only for peace' sake, but because I was determined, as little



as possible, to violate the established order of the national Church to which I belonged."

Our venerated founder was thoroughly read in the history and monuments of the primitive church, and perfectly intimate with the writings of the fathers, upon which the conclusions of Lord King are founded. And that such a mind—one so well stored with classical learning and the records of antiquity—should be so affected by a perusal of this book, is certainly not a little in favour both of its facts and reasoning.

It must however be borne in mind, that Mr. Wesley called no man father, upon earth; and in several instances, in the organization of the connection, he departed from what Lord King supposes the primitive practice. In one point, (and that is a very important one,) Mr. Wesley's system is more strictly *apostolic* than the draught of the "Primitive Church" by our author. We refer to the *connectional* principle, acting through a general *itinerant superintendency*. Upon this point our author is not so satisfactory, and incautious readers need to be put on their guard.

When he asserts that there was "but one bishop in a church," his meaning must be restricted to those *primitive* churches or congregations in populous places which assembled in "one place." These churches expanded until it became necessary to divide and subdivide them, and so the appropriate officers were multiplied to meet the emergency. There were certainly several *ἐπισκοποί*, *bishops*, in the church of Ephesus in the apostles days. (See Acts xx, 17, 28.) Bishops in primitive times were properly *pastors*; and as their age or eminent holiness entitled them to more than ordinary respect, for the edification of the body they were by general consent invested with a jurisdiction over the ordinary pastors and their flocks; but this did not constitute them a different *order* from that of presbyters.

The following question and answer, taken from the Minutes of the conference of 1745, will present this subject in its proper light, and clearly show Mr. Wesley's views.

*Quest.* Is Episcopal, Presbyterian, or Independent church government most agreeable to reason? *Ans.* The plain origin of church government seems to be this :— Christ sends forth a person to preach the gospel : some of those who hear him, repent and believe in Christ : they then desire him to watch over them, to build them up in faith, and to guide their souls into paths of righteousness. Here, then, is an independent congregation, subject to no pastor but their own ; neither liable to be controlled, in things spiritual, by any other man or body of men whatsoever. But soon after some from other parts, who were occasionally present while he was speaking in the name of the Lord, beseech him to come over and help them also. He complies, yet not till he confers with the wisest and holiest of his congregation ; and, with their consent, appoints one who has gifts and grace to watch over his flock in his absence. If it please God to raise another flock in the new place before he leaves them, he does the same thing, appointing one whom God hath fitted for the work to watch over these souls also. In like manner, in every place where it pleases God to gather a little flock by his word, he appoints one, in his absence, to take the oversight of the rest, to assist them as of the ability which God giveth.

“ These are deacons, or servants of the church ; and they look upon their first pastor as the common father of all these congregations, and regard him in the same light, and esteem him still as the shepherd of their souls. These congregations are not strictly independent, as they depend upon one pastor, though not upon each other.

“ As these congregations increase, and the deacons grow

in years and grace, they need other subordinate deacons, or helpers, in respect of whom they may be called presbyters or elders, as their father in the Lord may be called the bishop or overseer of them all."

To this we add the following view presented by *Dr. Stillingfleet*:—

"When there was but one congregation in a church, it was necessary, if it had any church power, that it must be lodged in that one congregation: but when this congregation was multiplied into many more, is it not as necessary, for their mutual government, there should be a common power governing them together as a joint society? Besides, the first congregational church in the New Testament, viz., that of Jerusalem, could be no particular organical church; for it had many, if not all, universal officers in it; and if they were the fixed pastors of that church, they could not, according to the principles of those who thus speak, preach to any other congregation but their own, by virtue of their office: and so, either their apostolical office and commission must be destroyed, if they were pastors of particular organical churches; or, if their apostolical office be asserted, their pastorship of particular organical churches is destroyed by their own principles, who assert that the pastor of a church can do no pastoral office out of his own congregation. The case is the same as to other churches planted by the apostles, and governed by themselves; which two, as far as I can find in the New Testament, were of an equal extent; viz., that all the churches planted by apostles were chiefly governed by themselves, though they had subordinate officers under them. These first churches then were not such particular organized churches, but they were as the *first matter* of many congregations to be propagated out of them; which after made one society, consisting of those several congregations embodied together, and ruled by one common

government. As in a college every tutor hath his own pupils, which he rules; and if we suppose but one tutor at first in the college, with his pupils, all the power both common to the society, and peculiar to his flock, is joined together; but when there are many more tutors, having pupils under their charge, all these, for their better ordering as a society, must be governed by the common government of the college, to which the particular government of every tutor is and must be subordinate: but this will be more fully made appear in the original of civil government. It is far more evident that all civil power lay at first in Adam and his family, and afterward in particular families, than that all church power lay in particular congregations at first. We may then with as good reason say, that there is no lawful civil government now, but that of particular families; and that no national government hath any right or power over particular families, because families had once all civil power within themselves; as because it is supposed that all church power lay first in particular congregations, therefore there must be no church power above them; nor that particular congregations are subject to such government as is requisite for the regulating of the society in common, as comprehending in it many particular congregations. Let them show, then, how any government in the state is lawful, when families had the first power, and by what right now those families are subordinate to the civil magistrate, and what necessity there is for it; and by the very same reasons will we show the lawfulness of government in the church over many congregations, and that those are by the same right, and upon the same necessity, to subordinate themselves to the governors of the church, considered as a society taking in many particular congregations."—*Irenicum*, pp. 129, 130.

The truth is, that the details of church government are not specifically defined in the word of God, but are left

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to be supplied by the wisdom of the church. Certain general principles are there laid down, under which there is room for some variety. Perfect uniformity in all respects did not obtain in the primitive church, and of course the reader must not expect to find the circumstantialia all settled in this work. Indeed no pattern, however ancient, can be of divine authority unless it can be clearly deduced from the Scriptures. But the *divine right of episcopacy*, as an *order superior to the presbytery*, is wholly without sanction either from Scripture or primitive practice.

We are aware that it is alleged that Lord King's draught of the "*Primitive Church*" was published in the author's youthful days, and that he probably outlived the hasty conclusions of his early years. The same is said of Stillingfleet's *Irenicum*. But let it be understood that we have little to do with the *authors* of these works: our business is with their *arguments*. Whether these distinguished individuals ever recanted these works, is a matter into which we are not disposed to inquire. That the works which survive them contain arguments which, however they may have been recanted, have never been *refuted*, we are quite certain.

In this edition we have strictly followed the original, except in the orthography of some words, and have inserted a sketch of the author's life from a late London edition, printed by *S. Cornish & Co.* We have retained all the original references, and hope they will be found accurate.

The present being, as far as we are advised, the *first* American edition of this work, and uniting the excellences of both the ancient and the modern editions, it is to be hoped that it may greatly serve the interests of truth, and be highly acceptable to the public.

GEORGE PECK, EDITOR.

*New-York, April 14, 1841.*

## LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.

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THE subject of the present memoir, so famous for his ecclesiastical learning, as well as for his knowledge in the law, was born at Exeter, in Devonshire, 1669. His father was an eminent merchant in that city; and, though a man of considerable property, and descended from a good family, determined to bring up his son to his own trade. With this view he took him into his business, and kept him at his shop for some years: however, the son's inclination being strongly bent to learning, he took all opportunities of gratifying his passion, laying out all the money he could spare in books, and devoting every moment of his leisure hours to study; so that he became, in reality, an excellent scholar before the world suspected any thing of the matter. His acquaintance with the celebrated Mr. Locke, who was his uncle by his mother's side, and who left him half his library at his death, was of vast advantage to him. That gentleman, being greatly surprised and pleased with the prodigious advances which his nephew had made in literature, advised him to go and perfect himself at Leyden: and it is said to have been by his advice that Mr. King afterward entered himself a student at the Inner Temple, and applied himself to the law, in which profession his great parts and indefatigable industry, for he was remarkable for both, soon made him famous.

In the mean time he gave a proof of uncommon learning by publishing, when he was no more than twenty-two

years of age, the first part of a work entitled, "An Inquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity, and Worship of the Primitive Church, which flourished within the first three hundred Years after Christ, faithfully collected out of the extant Writings of those Ages," 1691, 8vo. In this work the author has abundantly shown that spirit of peace, unity, and moderation, which he recommends in so powerful a manner to all parties. He afterward published the second part of the "Inquiry into the Constitution," &c.\* Having desired, in his preface, with a true air of modesty and candour, to be shown, either publicly or privately, any errors or wrong conclusions which he might have fallen into, that request was first complied with by Mr. Edmund Elys, 1692; and afterward by Mr. W. Slater, a non-juring divine, 1717.

Mr. King had not been many years at the Temple when he had acquired as high a reputation in law, as he had before done for his knowledge in divinity; so that, in 1699, he obtained a seat in the house of commons as representative for the borough of Beer-Alston in Devonshire; and the same honour was continued to him not only in the ensuing, which was the last parliament of King William, but also in the five succeeding parliaments of Queen Anne. In the mean time, as if unwilling to quit his old pursuits, the more beloved, perhaps, for having been the first, he completed some collections he had already made from ecclesiastical antiquity, and having digested them into proper order, and made also proper remarks upon them, he published them in 1702, 8vo., under the title of "The History of the Apostles' Creed, with Critical Observations on its several Articles." This, as well as the former work, was written with surprising judgment and learning; and Peter de Coste, who sent an

\* Both parts are included in the present volume.

abstract of it in French to Bernard, to be published, as it accordingly was, in his "*Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*," for November and December, 1702, has related a very remarkable particular concerning it. He tells us that "an English prelate, distinguished for his erudition—being persuaded it could hardly be any thing better than a wretched rhapsody out of several discourses on the subject before printed, and especially Pearson's '*Exposition of the Creed*,' who seemed to have exhausted that matter—took it up, and began to read it with this unfavourable prepossession: but that he was quickly convinced of his mistake, and surprised to find in it so many curious things not to be met with in Pearson, without perceiving any thing borrowed from that writer."

Henceforward our author found himself under a necessity of dropping all further pursuits in this way. The great business which his abilities as a lawyer brought into his hands, left him no time to spare; and in a few years his merit in the law was distinguished by the highest honours. July, 1708, he was chosen recorder of London, and knighted by Queen Anne in the September following. 1709 he was appointed one of the managers of the house of commons, at the trial of Sacheverell. Upon the accession of George I. he was appointed lord chief justice of the court of common pleas, and soon after sworn of the privy council. He was created a peer May the 25th, 1725, by the title of Lord King, baron of Ockham, in Surrey; and the great seal, being taken from Lord Macclesfield, was delivered to him the first of June following. The extraordinary pains he took in the discharge of his office by degrees impaired his constitution, and brought upon him at last a paralytic disorder; this distemper increasing, he resigned the seals the 26th of November, 1733, and his life July the 22nd following. He died at his seat at Ockham, leaving behind him four sons, two



daughters, and a widow, the daughter of Richard Seys, Esq., of Boverton, in Glamorganshire. The motto under his coat of arms is "Labor ipse Voluptas," which has been thought to be chosen by him with great propriety, as being the characteristic quality of his nature.

Mr. Orme in his "Bibliotheca Biblica," speaking of our author and his works, observes, "Mr. Locke, who was Lord King's uncle, left him one half of his library, and he evidently inherited a large portion of the penetration and liberality of mind, as well as of the books, of the philosopher. Few authors are more worthy of being consulted; the original authorities are always quoted, and great candour and liberality are invariably displayed. His works contain a large portion of valuable and accurate learning."

## P R E F A C E.

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THE design of the following treatise is, in general, to represent the constitution, discipline, unity, and worship of the primitive church, that flourished within the first three hundred years after Christ; but more particularly and especially to describe their opinions and practices with respect to those things that are now unhappily controverted between those of these kingdoms who are commonly known by the names of Church of England men, Presbyterians, Independents, and Anabaptists; for which reason it comes to pass, that to those points concerning which there is no difference among us, I have not spoken so largely as otherwise I might have done; and some other customs of theirs I have not mentioned at all, because now neglected and disused by us.

What I have written as to this subject I have wholly collected out of the genuine and unquestionably authentic writings of those ages, that are now extant, making use of no other writings whatever, except the ecclesiastical history of Eusebius, which was written in the beginning of the fourth age, and relates only those affairs that were transacted in the three former; beyond the period of which time this inquiry doth not reach, but is wholly limited thereby, and confined thereunto. That which has been thus collected, has been done, I hope, with the greatest impartiality and fidelity, without any prepossession of mind, or any fraudulent dealing whatsoever, which the reader may the sooner believe, and the easier be convinced

of, since, for the clearer demonstration of my faithfulness and unprejudicedness herein, I have taken care to print in the margin the original words of all the passages that I have cited, at least of all that are necessary, together with the very pages whence I fetched them, that so the reader, turning to the pages mentioned in those editions that I use, (which editions I shall set down at the end of this preface,) and finding it according to my quotations, may the more readily be persuaded that throughout this whole tract I have been every way honest and unbiassed.

And as I have faithfully and impartially collected these observations, so I have as modestly and unconcernedly represented them, avoiding all words or speeches that might seem to carry the least sharpness or reflection in them, but have nakedly expressed them, declining all affected or pompous expressions, contenting myself with those terms that most naturally serve to render the truth more perspicuous and evident, according to the observation of Clemens Alexandrinus, "He that would deliver the truth, ought not studiously to affect an elegance of expression, but only to use such words whereby he may render what he means intelligible."\*

Whether all, or some, or none, of the following primitive customs may be changed by the civil magistrate, or by a convocational assembly, I pretend not here to handle; my design at present is only to search into matter of fact, to find out what were the usages of the ancient church within the first three hundred years after Christ; for, as was said before, no lower do I intend to go; which, after the most impartial and serious inquiry, I find to be according to the ensuing treatise, in the penning whereof

\* Δει τὸν ἀληθείας κηδόμενον ἐκ ἐξ ἐπιβολῆς καὶ φροντίδος τὴν φράσιν συνθεῖναι, πειρᾶσθαι δὲ βνουάζειν μόνον ὡς δύναται, ὃ βέλεται. *Stromat. lib. 2, p. 263.*

I have avoided all prolixity and tediousness, and for that end omitting to answer several objections that I know may be made against several things which I have here asserted; my intention being briefly and perspicuously to prove what I judge to be the true practice of the primitive church as to those points now disputed by us.

As for the occasion of my publishing this treatise, it cannot be imagined to proceed from a spirit of vanity or ambition, since I so far conceal my name as that even my bookseller knows not who I am; much less, I hope, will it be construed by any to proceed from a spirit of contention and animosity, from an ill design to foment and increase our present feuds and divisions; since, I assure the whole world, our unnatural quarrels do so much afflict and trouble me, as that I would sacrifice not only this book, but also all that I either am or have, if thereby I might be a happy instrument to compose and heal them. But among other reasons these two were the chiefest that swayed me hereunto,—to inform others; and to inform myself: to inform others what the practices of the primitive apostolic churches were, if any shall be inquisitive and desirous to know them; or, if I am mistaken, (as who is without his errors?) to be better informed myself: which, I must needs confess, was that which I chiefly designed in the publication hereof: wherefore without any ostentation or challenging, but unfeignedly and sincerely to prevent mistakes in my younger years, I humbly desire, (if the request be not too bold,) and shall heartily thank any learned person that will be so kind as to inform me if he knows me to have erred in any one or more particulars, which he may do, either publicly, or, if he think fit, privately, by letter to my bookseller; who will convey it safely to my hands: and if any one that finds me deceived in any one or more points will favour me so far as to undertake such a trouble, I should desire these few

things of him : that he would be pleased, as I have done, to use only those writings that were composed within my prescribed time, and, if possible, the same editions ; and not only to form objections against what I have written, but also to answer, or rather to give me another sense of those passages which I have cited ; and then I promise, if my mistakes are fairly shown, I will not pertinaciously and obstinately defend them, but most willingly and thankfully renounce them, since my design is not to defend a party, but to search out the truth.

I have but one thing more to add in this preface, and that is, that when I first resolved on the printing of this treatise, I designed to have published my observations on the fourth general head propounded in the title-page to be inquired into, viz., "the worship of the primitive church," as well as now I have done those on the three former, but for some reasons I have reserved this for a particular tract by itself ; which probably, though I do not absolutely promise it, may in a little time more be also published ; and that the rather, because in this part I have made two or three references thereunto, which I thought good to acquaint the reader with, that so, if he cannot find some things that I have referred to in this treatise, he may be assured they are to be met with in the ensuing one.\*

\* The "Observations on the Worship of the Primitive Church," above spoken of, forms Part II. of the present volume.

*The primitive authors mentioned in this treatise, together with those editions that I have made use of, are as follows:—*

S. Ignatii Epistolæ Græco-Latin. Quarto edit., Isaaci Vossii. Amstelodam, 1646.

S. Barnabæ Epistola Catholica, edit. ad Calcem S. Ignatii, quarto. Amstelodam, 1646.

S. Clementis Romani Epistolæ Græco-Latin. Quarto edit. Patricii Junii. Oxonii, 1633.

S. Irenæi Opera, folio edit., Nic. Galasii, Genevæ, 1580.

S. Justini Martyris Opera Græco-Latin. Folio. Coloniae, 1686.

Epistola Plinii Secundi Trajano Imperatori de Christianis in fronte Operum Justin. Martyr. Colon., 1616.

Clementis Alexandrini Opera, folio edit., Heinsii. Lug. Batav., 1616.

Tertulliani Opera, folio edit. Paris., 1580.

Novatiani de Trinitate et de Cibis Judaicis inter Opera Tertulliani. Edit. Paris., 1580.

Cypriani Opera, folio edit., Sim. Goulart. apud Johan. le Preux. 1593.

Vita Cypriani per Pontium ejus Diaconum. In fronte Oper. Cyprian. Edit. Goulart. 1593.

Fragmentum Victorini Petavionensis, de Fabrica Mundi, pages 103, 104. Histor. literar. Dr. S. Cave, edit. fol. Londini, 1688.

Minucii Felicis Octavius edit. ad Calcem Tertullian. Apolog. per Desiderium Heraldum, quarto. Paris., 1613.

Origenis Commentaria Omnia quæ Græce Reperiuntur, edit. de Huetii., 2 vols. folio. Rothomagi. 1668.

Origenis contra Celsum, Libri Octo, et ejusdem Philocalia Græco-Latin. edit. quarto, per Gulielm. Spencer. Cantabrigiæ, 1677.

Origenis περὶ εὐχῆς, seu, de Oratione, Græco-Latin. Octavo. Oxonii, 1685.

As for those other works of Origen which are extant only in Latin, I have made no use at all of those of Ruffin's translation, except his Creed, since in them we know not which we read, whether Origen or Ruffin; and as for those which were translated by more faithful hands, I have used the editions of Merlin or Erasmus, without nominating the page.

Eusebii Pamphili Ecclesiastica Historia Græco-Latin. Folio edit. Henric. Vales. Paris., 1659. I have read only the seven first books of Eusebius's history, because the three others go beyond my limited time.

As for the writings of S. Gregory of Neocæsarea, they are but few, and from thence I have taken nothing but his Creed, so that there is no need to mention any edition of his works. The same I may say also of the short epistle of Polycarp, which I have cited but once, and therein have used the version of Dr. Cave, extant in his Apostolici, page 127.

There are yet some other fathers whose remaining tracts I have read, as Theophilus Antiochenus, Athenagoras, &c., who are not cited in this treatise, because I have found nothing in them pertinent to my design.

## AN INQUIRY, ETC.

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### CHAPTER I.

§ 1. The various significations of the word church. § 2. A particular church the chief subject of the ensuing discourse: the constituent parts thereof twofold, viz., clergy and laity. § 3. Each of these had their particular functions, and both their joint offices: three things on which a great part of the following discourse depends proposed to be handled, viz., the peculiar acts of the clergy, the peculiar acts of the laity, and the joint acts of them both. § 4. The peculiar acts of the clergy propounded to be discussed according to their several orders: first, of the bishops: a view of the world as it was in a state of heathenism, at the first preaching of Christianity, necessary to be considered: where the apostles planted churches, they appointed the first converts to be bishops thereof. § 5. But one bishop in a church: the orthodoxness of the faith proved from the succession of the bishops: the titles and relation of the bishop to his flock.

§ 1. THAT we may give the more clear and distinct answer to this important query, it is necessary that we first examine the primitive notion of the word *church*, upon the due apprehension of which depends the right understanding of a great part of our following discourse.

This word church, as in our modern acceptation, so also in the writings of the fathers, is equivocal, having different significations, according to the different subjects to which it is applied. I shall not here concern myself about the derivation of the word, or its original use among the heathens, from whom it was translated into the Christian church; but only take notice of its various uses among the ancient Christians, which were many, as,

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I. It is very often to be understood of the church universal, that is, of all those who, throughout the face of the whole earth, professed faith in Christ, and acknowledged him to be the Saviour of mankind. This Irenæus calls "the church dispersed through the whole world to the ends of the earth,"<sup>a</sup> and "the church scattered in the whole world."<sup>b</sup> And Origen calls it "the church of God under heaven."<sup>c</sup> This is that which they call the catholic church, for catholic signifies the same as universal. Thus Polycarp, when he was seized by his murderers, prayed for "the catholic church throughout the world."<sup>d</sup> And in this sense Dionysius Alexandrinus calls the persecuting emperor Macrianus, "a warrior against the catholic church of God."<sup>e</sup>

II. The word church is frequently to be understood of a particular church, that is, of a company of believers, who at one time, in one and the same place, did associate themselves together, and concur in the participation of all the institutions and ordinances of Jesus Christ with their proper pastors and ministers. Thus Irenæus mentions that church "which is in any place."<sup>f</sup> And so Dionysius Alexandrinus writes, that when he was banished to Cephro, in Lybia, there came so many Christians unto him that even there he had a church.<sup>g</sup> Tertullian thinks that

<sup>a</sup> Ἡ ἐκκλησία καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἕως περάτων τῆς γῆς διεσπαρμένη. Lib. 1, cap. 2, p. 34.

<sup>b</sup> Ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διεσπαρμένη. Lib. 1, cap. 3, p. 36.

<sup>c</sup> Ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν ἄρανὸν ἐκκλησία τε Θεῷ. Apud. Euseb. lib. 6, cap. 25, p. 226.

<sup>d</sup> Πάσης τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. Apud. Eus. lib. 4, cap. 15, p. 131.

<sup>e</sup> Τῆς καθολικῆς Θεῷ ἐκκλησίας πολέμιος. Epist. ad Herm. apud. Euseb. lib. 7, cap. 10, p. 256.

<sup>f</sup> Ea quæ est in quoque loco Ecclesia. Lib. 2, cap. 56, p. 158.

<sup>g</sup> Πόλλη συνεπεδήμησεν ἡμῖν ἐκκλησία. Apud. Euseb. lib. 7, cap. 11, p. 259.

“three were sufficient to make a church.”<sup>a</sup> In this sense we must understand the church of Rome,<sup>b</sup> the church of Smyrna,<sup>c</sup> the church of Antioch,<sup>d</sup> the church of Athens,<sup>e</sup> the church of Alexandria, or the church in any other such place whatsoever, that is, a congregation of Christians assembling all together for religious exercises at Rome, Antioch, Smyrna, Athens, Alexandria, or such like places.

III. The word church is sometimes used for the place where a particular church or congregation met for the celebration of divine service. Thus Paulus Samosatenus, the heretical bishop of Antioch, ordered certain women to stand “in the middle of the church,”<sup>f</sup> and sing psalms in his praise. So Clemens Alexandrinus adviseth that men and women should with all modesty and humility enter “into the church.”<sup>g</sup> So the clergy of the church of Rome, in their letter to Cyprian concerning the restitution of the lapsed, gave as their advice, “that they should only come to the threshold of the church door, but not go over it.”<sup>h</sup> And in this sense is the word frequently to be understood in Tertullian,<sup>i</sup> Origen,<sup>k</sup> and others, to recite whose testimonies at large would be both tedious and needless.

IV. I find the word church once used by Cyprian for a collection of many particular churches, who mentions in the singular number “the church of God in Africa

<sup>a</sup> Ubi tres, Ecclesia est. Exhort. ad Castitat. p. 457.

<sup>b</sup> Ecclesia Romana, Cyprian. Epist. 31, § 3, p. 70.

<sup>c</sup> Ἐκκλησία τῇ οὐσῃ ἐν Σμύρνῃ. Ignat. ad Smyrn. p. 1.

<sup>d</sup> Τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ. Idem. ibid. p. 8.

<sup>e</sup> Ἐκκλησία ἡ Ἀθηνησι, ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ. Origen cont. Celsum. lib. 3, cap. 129.

<sup>f</sup> Ἐν μέσῳ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Epist. Synod. Antioch apud Euseb. lib. 7, cap. 30, p. 281.

<sup>g</sup> Ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Pædag. lib. 5, cap. 11, p. 189.

<sup>h</sup> Adeant ad limen Ecclesiæ. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 31, § 7, p. 71.

<sup>i</sup> De præscript. advers. Hæret. p. 90. De Corona Militis, p. 36. And very often in his book, De Virginibus velandis.

<sup>k</sup> De Orat. § 20, p. 132.

and Numidia.”<sup>a</sup> Else I do not remember that I ever met with it in this sense in any writings, either of this or the rest of the fathers ; but whenever they would speak of the Christians in any kingdom or province, they always said in the plural, the churches, never in the singular, the church, of such a kingdom or province. Thus Dionysius Alexandrinus doth not say, the church, but, the churches of Cilicia.<sup>b</sup> And so Irenæus mentions the churches that were in Germany, Spain, France, the East, Egypt, and Libya.<sup>c</sup> So also Tertullian speaks of the churches of Asia and Phrygia,<sup>d</sup> and the churches of Greece.<sup>e</sup> And so of every country they always express the churches thereof in the plural number.

V. The word church frequently occurs for that which we commonly call the invisible church, that is, for those who, by a sound repentance and a lively faith, are actually interested in the Lord Jesus Christ: according to this signification of the word must we understand Tertullian, when he says, “that Christ had espoused the church,”<sup>f</sup> and that “there was a spiritual marriage between Christ and the church.”<sup>g</sup> And that of Irenæus, “that the church was fitted according to the form of the Son of God.”<sup>h</sup> And in this sense is the word oftentimes used in others of the fathers, as I might easily show, if any one did doubt it.

<sup>a</sup> In Provinciâ Africâ et Numidiâ Ecclesiam Domini, Epist. 71, § 4, p. 214.

<sup>b</sup> Αἱ τῆς Κιλικίας ἐκκλησίαι. Apud. Euseb. lib. 7, cap. 5, p. 251.

<sup>c</sup> Αἱ ἐν Γερμανίαις ἐκκλησίαι, ἐν ταῖς Ἰβηρίαις, ἐν Κελτοῖς, κατὰ τὰς Ανατολάς, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ἐν Λιβύῃ. Lib. 1, cap. 3, p. 36.

<sup>d</sup> Ecclesiæ Asiæ et Phrygiæ. Adversus Praxeam, p. 314.

<sup>e</sup> Per Græciam Ecclesiæ : De Virgin. veland. p. 386.

<sup>f</sup> Christus sibi sponsabat Ecclesiam. Advers. Marcion. Lib. 4, p. 196.

<sup>g</sup> Spirituales nuptias Ecclesiæ et Christi. Exhort. ad Castitat. p. 455.

<sup>h</sup> Ecclesia ad figuram imaginis filii ejus coaptetur. Lib. 4, cap. 72, p. 308.

- VI. The word church is frequently to be interpreted of the faith and doctrine of the church. In this sense Irenæus prays “that the heretics might be reclaimed from their heresies, and be converted to the church of God;”<sup>a</sup> and exhorts all sincere Christians not to follow heretics, but to “fly to the church:”<sup>b</sup> upon which account heretics are said to have left the church, as Tertullian told Marcion, that when he became a heretic, “he departed from the church of Christ:”<sup>c</sup> and their heresies are said to be dissonant from the church, as Origen writes, that the opinion of the transmigration of souls was “alien from the church.”<sup>d</sup>

There are yet several other significations of this word, though not so usual as some of the forementioned ones, nor so pertinent to my design, so that I might justly pass them over without so much as mentioning them: but lest any should be desirous to know them, I will just name them, and then proceed to what is more material.

Besides then those former significations, the word, according to its original import, is also used for any congregation in general. Sometimes it is applied to any particular sect of heretics, as Tertullian calls the Marcionites<sup>e</sup> the church of Marcion: at other times it is attributed to the orthodox, in opposition to the heretics, as by the same Tertullian.<sup>f</sup> Sometimes it is appropriated to the heathen assemblies, as by Origen,<sup>g</sup> at other times in opposition to

<sup>a</sup> *Conversos ad ecclesiam Dei.* Lib. 3, cap. 46, p. 239.

<sup>b</sup> *Confugere ad ecclesiam.* Lib. 5, cap. 17, p. 343.

<sup>c</sup> *Ab Ecclesiâ Christi recessisti.* De carne Christi, p. 13.

<sup>d</sup> *Ἀλλότριον τῆς ἐκκλησίας.* Comment. in Mat. Tom. 13, p. 304, Vol. 1.

<sup>e</sup> *Ecclesiam suam.* Adversus Marcion. lib. 5, p. 255.

<sup>f</sup> *Hæreses Ecclesiam lacescentes.* De præscript. advers. Hæret. p. 69.

<sup>g</sup> *Ἐκκλησίαις δεισιδαμόνων, καὶ ἀκολάγων, καὶ ἁδίκων.* Contra Cels. lib. 2, p. 128.

the Jews, it is ascribed to the believing Gentiles, as by<sup>a</sup> Irenæus :<sup>a</sup> in some places it is taken for the deputies of a particular church, as in Ignatius.<sup>b</sup> In other places it signifies the assembly of the spirits of just men made perfect in heaven, which we commonly call the church triumphant, as in Clemens Alexandrinus.<sup>c</sup> Once I find it denoting the laity<sup>d</sup> only, in opposition to the clergy : and once signifying only Christ as the head of the faithful.<sup>e</sup>

§ 2. But the usual and common acceptation of the word, and of which we must chiefly treat, is that of a particular church, that is, a society of Christians, meeting together in one place, under their proper pastors, for the performance of religious worship, and the exercising of Christian discipline.

Now the first thing that naturally presents itself to our consideration is, to inquire into the constituent parts of a particular church, or who made up and composed such a church. In the general they were called *ἐκλεκτοί*, “the elect,”<sup>f</sup> “the called and sanctified by the will of God.”<sup>g</sup> And in innumerable places they are called *ἀδελφοί*, “the brethren,” because of their brotherly love and affection ; and *πίστοι*, “the faithful,” in opposition to the pagan world, who had no faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, nor in the promises of the gospel. But more particularly we may

<sup>a</sup> *Ea quæ ex gentibus est Ecclesia.* Lib. 4, cap. 37, p. 271.

<sup>b</sup> *Ἀσπάζομαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ Σμύρνης ὡς ταῖς συμπάροισις με ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ Θεοῦ.* Ad Philadelph. p. 52.

<sup>c</sup> *Οὐράνιον ἐκκλησίαν,* Pædag. lib. 2, cap. 1, p. 104.

<sup>d</sup> *Ἐπίσκοποι καὶ Πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ Διάκονοι, καὶ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ Θεοῦ.* Apud Euseb. lib. 7, cap. 30, p. 279.

<sup>e</sup> *Ecclesia vero Christus,* Tertullian. de pœnitentia, p. 382.

<sup>f</sup> *Epist. Eccles. Smyrn. ad Eccles. Philomel.* apud Euseb. lib. 4, cap. 15, p. 134.

<sup>g</sup> *Κλητοὶς καὶ ἡγιασμένοις ἐν θελήματι Θεοῦ.* Clem. Rom. Epist. 1, ad Cor. p. 1.

divide them into two parts ; into the people that composed the body of the church, and those persons who were set apart for religious and ecclesiastical employments : or to conform to our ordinary dialect, into the clergy and laity, which is an early distinction, being mentioned by Clemens Romanus,<sup>a</sup> and after him by Origen,<sup>b</sup> and several others.

§ 3. Each of these had their particular offices, and both together had their joint employments, to all which I shall distinctly speak in the ensuing tract, as they naturally resolve themselves into these three particulars :—

I. The peculiar acts of the clergy.

II. The peculiar acts of the laity.

III. The joint acts of them both.

By the resolution of which three questions some discovery will be made of the constitution and discipline of the primitive church, and of their practice with respect to many points unhappily controverted among us.

§ 4. I begin with the first of these, what were the peculiar acts of the clergy ? Now here must be considered the functions of every particular order and degree of the clergy, which we may say to be three, viz., bishops, priests, and deacons, whose employments we shall severally handle ; as also several other points, which under those heads shall offer themselves unto us. I shall begin first with the bishop ; but for the better understanding both of him and the rest, it will be necessary, first of all, to consider the condition of the whole world, as it was before the preaching of the gospel, in a state of paganism and darkness, having their understandings clouded with ignorance and error, alienated from God, and the true worship of him ; applauding their own brutish inventions,

<sup>a</sup> *Τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἰδίως ὁ τόπος προσέτακται, ὁ λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προσάγμασιν δέδεσται.* Epist. 1. ad Cor. p. 53.

<sup>b</sup> Homil. 11 in Jerem. pp. 113, 114, vol. 1.

and adoring as God whatever their corrupted reason and silly fancies proposed to them as objects of adoration and homage. Into this miserable state all mankind, except the Jews, had wilfully cast themselves; and had not Christ, the Sun of righteousness, enlightened them, they would have continued in that lost and blind condition to this very day. But our Saviour having on his cross triumphed over principalities and powers, and perfectly conquered the devil, who before had ruled effectually in the heathen world; and being ascended into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of the Father, on the day of pentecost he sent down the Holy Ghost on his apostles and disciples, who were then assembled at Jerusalem, enduing them thereby with the gift of tongues, and working miracles, and both commissionating and fitting them for the propagation of his church and kingdom, who having received this power and authority from on high, went forth preaching the gospel, first, to the Jews, and then to the Gentiles, declaring those glad tidings to all kingdoms and provinces; so that, as the apostle Paul said, "Their sound went out into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world," Rom. x, 18; every one taking a particular part of the world for his proper province, to make known the joyful news of life and salvation through Christ therein. Thus St. Andrew principally preached the gospel in Scythia, St. Bartholomew in India, St. Matthew in Parthia, St. John in the Lesser Asia, and all the rest of the apostles had their particular provinces allotted them, wherein they went forth preaching the gospel; and as they came to any city, town, or village, they published to the inhabitants thereof the blessed news of life and immortality through Jesus Christ, constituting the first converts of every place through which they passed, bishops and deacons of those churches which they there gathered. So saith Clemens Romanus, "The apostles went forth preaching in city and

country, appointing the first-fruits of their ministry for bishops and deacons,"<sup>a</sup> generally leaving those bishops and deacons to govern and enlarge those particular churches over which they had placed them, whilst they themselves passed forward, planted other churches, and placed governors over them. Thus saith Tertullian, "Clemens was ordained -bishop of Rome by St. Peter, and Polycarp bishop of Smyrna by St. John."<sup>b</sup>

§ 5. Whether in the apostolic and primitive days there were more bishops than one in a church, at first sight seems difficult to resolve: that the Holy Scriptures and Clemens Romanus<sup>c</sup> mention many in one church is certain: and, on the other hand, it is as certain that Ignatius, Tertullian, Cyprian, and the following fathers affirm that there was, and ought to be, but one in a church. These contradictions may at the first view seem inextricable; but I hope the following account will reconcile all these seeming difficulties, and withal afford us a fair and easy conception of the difference between the ancient bishops and presbyters.

I shall then lay down as sure, that there was but one supreme bishop in a place, that was the *ὁ ἐπίσκοπος*—the bishop by way of eminency and propriety—the proper pastor and minister of his parish, to whose care and trust the souls of that church, or parish, over which he presided, were principally and more immediately committed. So saith Cyprian, "There is but one bishop in a church at a time."<sup>d</sup> And so Cornelius objects to Novatian, that he

<sup>a</sup> Καθίσανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους. Epist. 1. ad Corinth. p. 54.

<sup>b</sup> Smyræorum Ecclesia habens Polycarpum ab Johanne conlocatum, Romanorum Clementem à Petro ordinatum. De præscript. adversus Hær. p. 80.

<sup>c</sup> Ὑποτασσόμενοι τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν. Epist. 1. ad Cor. p. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Unus in Ecclesia ad tempus Sacerdos. Epist. 55. § 6. p. 138.



did not remember "that there ought to be but one bishop in a church.\*" And throughout the whole epistles of Ignatius, and the generality of writers succeeding him, we find but one single bishop in a church, whose quotations to which purpose would be fruitless to recite here, since the constant practice of the universal church confirms it, and a great part of the following discourse will clearly illustrate it.

Only it may not be impertinent to remark this by the way, that by the *διαδοχή*, or succession of bishops from those bishops who were ordained by the apostles, the orthodox were wont to prove the succession of their faith, and the novelty of that of the heretics. "Let them demonstrate the original of their churches," as Tertullian challenges the Marcionites, and other heretics; "let them turn over the orders of their bishops, and see whether they have had a succession of bishops from any one who was constituted by the apostles or apostolic men: thus the truly apostolic churches have, as the church of Smyrna has Polycarp there placed by St. John, and the church of Rome Clement, ordained by Peter; and other churches can tell who were ordained bishops over them by the apostles, and who have been their successors to this very day."† So also says Irenæus, "We challenge the heretics

\* *Οὐκ ἠπίεζατο ἓνα ἐπίσκοπον δεῖν εἶναι ἐν καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.* Ad Fabium. Antioch. apud Euseb. lib. 6, cap. 43, p. 244.

† Edant origines ecclesiarum suarum, evolvant ordinem episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex apostolis vel apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum apostolis perseveraverit, habuerit autorem et antecessorem. Hoc enim modo ecclesiæ apostolicæ census suos deferunt, sicut Smyrnæorum ecclesia habens Polycarpum ab Johanne conlocatum refert, sicut Romanorum Clementem à Petro ordinatum proinde utique exhibent, quos ab apostolis in episcopatum constitutos, apostolici seminis traduces habeant. De præscript. adversus Hæret. p. 78.

to that tradition which was handed down from the apostles by the succession of bishops."<sup>a</sup>

And in the next chapter of the same<sup>b</sup> book the said father gives us a catalogue of the bishops of Rome till his days, by whom the true faith was successively transmitted down from the apostles ; in which catalogue we find but one bishop at a time ; and as he died, so another single person succeeded him in the charge of that flock or parish.

So that this consideration evidences also that there was but one bishop, strictly so called, in a church at a time, who was related to his flock as a pastor to his sheep, and a parent to his children.<sup>c</sup> The titles of this supreme church officer are most of them reckoned up in one place by Cyprian, which are, " bishop, president, pastor, governor, superintendent, and priest."<sup>d</sup> And this is he which in the Revelation is called " the angel of his church,"<sup>e</sup> as Origen thinks, which appellations denote both his authority and office, his power and duty, of both which we shall somewhat treat, after we have discoursed of the circuit and extent of his jurisdiction and superintendency, which shall be the contents of the following chapter.

<sup>a</sup> Eam traditionem quæ est ab apostolis, quæ per successiones presbyterorum in ecclesiis custoditur, provocamus eos. Lib. 3, cap. 2, p. 170.

<sup>b</sup> Lib. 3, cap. 3, pp. 170, 171.

<sup>c</sup> A pastore oves, et filios à parente separare. Cypr. Epist. 38, § 1, p. 90.

<sup>d</sup> Episcopus, præpositus, pastor, gubernator, antistes, sacerdos. Epist. 69, § 5, p. 208.

<sup>e</sup> Προεγώτας τίνας τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀγγέλους λεγέσθαι παρὰ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ἐν τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει. De Orat. § 35, p. 34.

## CHAPTER II.

§ 1. As but one bishop to a church, so but one church to a bishop. The bishop's cure never called a diocess, but usually a parish, no larger than our parishes. § 2. Demonstrated by several arguments. § 3. A survey of the extent of several bishoprics, as they were in Ignatius's days, as of Smyrna. § 4. Ephesus. § 5. Magnesia. § 6. Philadelphia. And, § 7. Trallium. § 8. The bigness of the diocess of Antioch. § 9. Of Rome. § 10. Of Carthage. § 11. A reflection on the diocess of Alexandria. § 12. Bishops in villages. § 13. All the Christians of a diocess met together in one place every Sunday to serve God.

§ 1. HAVING in the former chapter shown that there was but one bishop to a church, we shall in this evidence that there was but one church to a bishop, which will appear from this single consideration, viz., that the ancient diocesses are never said to contain churches, in the plural, but only a church, in the singular. So they say, the church of the Corinthians,<sup>a</sup> the church of Smyrna,<sup>b</sup> the church in Magnesia,<sup>c</sup> the church in Philadelphia,<sup>d</sup> the church in Antioch,<sup>e</sup> and so of any other place whatsoever, the church *of*, or *in* such a place.

This was the common name whereby a bishop's cure was denominated, the bishop himself being usually called the bishop of this or that church, as Tertullian saith, that Polycarp was ordained bishop of the church of Smyrna.<sup>f</sup>

As for the word diocess, by which the bishop's flock is now usually expressed, I do not remember that ever I found it used in this sense by any of the ancients: but

<sup>a</sup> Τὴν Κορινθίων ἐκκλησίαν. Clem. Rom. Epist. 1, p. 62.

<sup>b</sup> Smyrnis ecclesia. Irenæus, lib. 3, cap. 3, p. 171.

<sup>c</sup> Τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ. Ignat. Epist. 4, p. 30.

<sup>d</sup> Ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἑσθῇ ἐν Φιλαδέλφειᾳ. Idem. Epist. 5, p. 38.

<sup>e</sup> Τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ. Idem ibidem, p. 45.

<sup>f</sup> Polycarpus in Smyrnis ecclesiæ constitutus episcopus. Iren. lib. 3, cap. 3, p. 171.

there is another word, still retained by us, by which they frequently denominated the bishop's cure, and that is parish; so in the synodical epistle of Irenæus to Pope Victor, the bishoprics of Asia are twice called parishes.<sup>a</sup> And in Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History the word is so applied in several hundred places. It is usual there to read of the bishops of the parish of Alexandria,<sup>b</sup> of the parish of Ephesus,<sup>c</sup> of the parish of Corinth,<sup>d</sup> of the parish of Athens,<sup>e</sup> of the parish of Carthage;<sup>f</sup> and so of the bishops of the parishes of several other churches; by that term denoting the very same that we now call a parish, viz., a competent number of Christians dwelling near together, having one bishop, pastor, or minister set over them, with whom they all met at one time to worship and serve God. This may be evinced from the intent of the word itself, which signifies a dwelling one by another, as neighbours do; or a habitation in one and the same place, as the church of Smyrna wrote to the church that parished in Philomelium, τῇ παροικίᾳ ἐν Φιλομηλίῳ.<sup>g</sup> And the epistle of Clemens Romanus is to the church of God parishing at Corinth, παροικίᾳ Κόρινθον,<sup>h</sup> that is, dwelling or living in Philomelium and Corinth; so that a parish is the same with a particular church, or a single congregation; which is yet more evident from a passage in the dissertations of Apollonius against Alexander, a Cataphrygian heretic, wherein it is said, that because that heretic had been a robber, therefore that parish to which he belonged would

<sup>a</sup> Τῶν παροικιῶν. Apud Euseb. lib. 5, cap. 14, p. 193.

<sup>b</sup> Τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ παροικίας. Lib. 2, cap. 24, p. 66.

<sup>c</sup> Τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παροικίας. Lib. 3, cap. 4, p. 73.

<sup>d</sup> Τῆς Κορινθίων παροικίας. Lib. 3, cap. 4, p. 74.

<sup>e</sup> Τῆς Ἀθηναίων παροικίας. Lib. 4, cap. 23, p. 144.

<sup>f</sup> Τῆς κατὰ Καρχηδόνα παροικίας. Lib. 7, cap. 3, p. 251.

<sup>g</sup> Apud Euseb. lib. 4, cap. 15, p. 228.

<sup>h</sup> Epist. 1, ad Cor. p. 1.

not receive him ;\* that is, that particular church or congregation to which he appertained excluded him from communion because of his depredations and robberies ; so that a parish and a particular church are synonymous terms, signifying one and the same thing ; and consequently a bishop having but one parish under his jurisdiction, could extend his government no further than one single congregation ; because a single congregation and a parish were all one, of the same bulk and magnitude.

§ 2. But that the bishop's diocess exceeded not the bounds of a modern parish, and was the same, as in name, so also in thing, will appear from these following observations, as,

1. All the people of a diocess did, every Sunday, meet all together in one place to celebrate divine service. Thus saith Justin Martyr, "On Sunday all assemble together in one place, where the bishop preaches and prays ;"<sup>b</sup> for, as Ignatius writes, "where the bishop is, there the people must be ;"<sup>c</sup> and "there is a necessity that we do nothing without the bishop ;"<sup>d</sup> since "it is unlawful to do any thing without him ;"<sup>e</sup> for "where the pastor is there the sheep ought to follow ;"<sup>f</sup> wherefore, "as Christ did nothing without the Father, so do you nothing without the bishop and presbyters, but assemble into the same place, that you may have one prayer, one supplication, one mind, and one

\* Ἡ ἰδία παροιμία αὐτὸν δόθεν ἦν οὐκ ἐδέξατο. Apud. Euseb. lib. 5, cap. 18, p. 185.

<sup>b</sup> Πάντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται. Apol. 1, p. 98.

<sup>c</sup> Ὅπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπισκοπος ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔσω. Epist. ad Smyrn. p. 6.

<sup>d</sup> Ἀναγκαῖον οὖν ἔσιν ἀνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν πράσσειν ὑμᾶς. Ep. ad Tralles. p. 48.

<sup>e</sup> Οὐκ ἔσον ἔσιν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, οὔτε βαπτίζειν, οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν. Epist. ad Smyrn. p. 6.

<sup>f</sup> Ὅπου δὲ ὁ ποιμὴν ἔσιν, ἐκεῖ ὡς πρόβατα ἀκολουθεῖτε. Epist. ad Philadelph. p. 42.

hope ;”<sup>a</sup> “for if the prayer of one or two have so great a force, how much more prevalent must that be which is made by the bishop and the whole church! He then that doth not assemble together is proud, and hath condemned himself: for it is written, ‘God resisteth the proud.’ Let us not therefore resist the bishop, that we may be subject to God.”<sup>b</sup> So that these passages clearly prove, that all the members of the bishop’s church assembled together in one place to send up their common prayers to the throne of grace, and to discharge those other religious duties which were incumbent on them, which convincingly evidences the bishop’s church to be no bigger than our parishes; for if it had been bigger, it would have been impossible that the members thereof should have constantly assembled together in one place, as we see here they did.

2. The bishop had but one altar or communion-table in his whole diocess, at which his whole flock received the sacrament from him. “There is but one altar,” says Ignatius, “as there is but one bishop.”<sup>c</sup> At this altar the bishop administered the sacrament to his whole flock at one time. So writes Cyprian: “We celebrate the sacrament, the whole brotherhood being present.”<sup>d</sup> And thus it was in Justin Martyr’s days: “the bishop’s whole diocess met together on Sunday, when the bishop gave them

<sup>a</sup> Ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μηδὲν πράσσητε, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μία προσευχὴ, μία δέσεις, εἰς νοῦς, μία ἔλπις. Epist. ad Magnes., page 33.

<sup>b</sup> Εἰ γὰρ ἑνος καὶ δευτέρου προσευχὴ τοσαύτην ἰσχὺν ἔχει, πόσω μᾶλλον ἦτε τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, καὶ πάσης ἐκκλησίας; ὁ οὖν μὴ ἐρχόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, οὗτος ἡδὴ ὑπερηφανεῖ καὶ ἑαυτὸν διεκρίνεν· γέγραπται γὰρ ὑπερηφάνοις ὁ Θεὸς ἀντιτάσσεται· σπουδάζωμεν οὖν μὴ ἀντιτάσσεσθαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ἵνα ὦμεν Θεῷ ὑποτασσόμενοι. Epist. ad Eph. p. 20.

<sup>c</sup> Ἐν θυσιαστήριον ὡς εἰς ἐπίσκοπος. Epist. ad Philad. p. 41.

<sup>d</sup> Sacramenti veritatem fraternitate omni præsente celebramus. Epist. 63, § 12, p. 177.

the eucharist ; and if any were absent, he sent it to them by the deacons."<sup>a</sup> Certainly that diocess could not be large where all usually communicated at one time, and the deacons carried about the consecrated eucharist to those that were absent ; which would have been an endless and painful task for the deacons, had their bishopric contained more Christians in it than one congregation would have held. Tertullian writes, that in his time and country, "the Christians received the sacrament of the Lord's supper from the hands of the bishop alone."<sup>b</sup> Now in those days and places they communicated at least three times a week, viz., Wednesdays, Fridays, and Lord's days,<sup>c</sup> which had been impossible to have been done if the bishop had had inspection over more than one congregation, as is obvious to every one's reason ; for the bishop, being finite and corporeal as well as others, could not be present in many places at once, but must be confined to one determinate fixed place, in which alone he could administer and dispense the eucharist : and for this reason it is that Ignatius exhorts the Philadelphians "to use the one eucharist,"<sup>d</sup> that is, not to leave the bishop, and communicate elsewhere, but to partake of that single eucharist which was administered by him : for, as he proceeds to say in the same place, "there is but one body of our Lord Jesus Christ, one cup, one altar, and one bishop."<sup>e</sup> As there was but one bishop in a church, so there was but one altar, a bishop and an altar being correlates : so

<sup>a</sup> Τῇ τῷ ἁλίῳ λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ παντῶν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, διάδοσις καὶ ἡ μετάληψις ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχαριστηθέντων ἐκάσῳ γίνεται, καὶ τοῖς ἑ παροῦσι διὰ τῶν διακόνων πέμπεται. *Apol.* 2, p. 98.

<sup>b</sup> Nec de aliorum manu quàm de præsidentium sumimus. *De corona militis*, p. 338.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. de Oratione, p. 661.

<sup>d</sup> Μία εὐχαριστία χρῆσθαι. *Epist. ad Philadelp.* p. 40.

<sup>e</sup> Μία γὰρ σὰρξ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἓν ποτήριον, ἓν θυσιαστήριον, ὡς εἰς ἐπίσκοπος. *Ibid.*

that to set up another altar was a periphrasis of a schismatic, or of one that causelessly separated from his lawful bishop, and set up another, which was that they called schism, as we shall show in its proper place. Thus Cyprian describes a schismatic as one "that contemns his bishop, leaves the ministers of God, and dares to set up another altar:"<sup>a</sup> and particularly he brands Novatian as such a one, because "he erected a profane altar;"<sup>b</sup> that is, an altar in opposition to the altar of Cornelius, his lawful bishop. For, as he saith in another place, "no man can regularly constitute a new bishop, or erect a new altar, besides the one bishop, and the one altar;"<sup>c</sup> for which reason he calls the altar that is erected by schismatics against the one altar of their lawful bishops, "a profane altar,"<sup>d</sup> which agrees with that of Ignatius, that "he that is within the altar is pure, but he that does any thing without the bishops, priests, and deacons, is impure;"<sup>e</sup> and as he says in another place, "Whosoever is without the altar, wants the bread of God."<sup>f</sup>

3. The other sacrament of baptism was generally administered by the bishops alone within their respective diocesses. So saith Tertullian, "Before the bishop we renounce the devil and the world."<sup>g</sup> For as Cyprian

<sup>a</sup> Contemptis episcopis, et Dei sacerdotibus derelictis, constituere audet aliud altare. De Unitat. Ecclesiæ, § 15, p. 301.

<sup>b</sup> Profanum altare erigere. Epist. 67, § 2, p. 193.

<sup>c</sup> Aliud altare constitui, aut sacerdotium novum fieri, præter unum altare, et unum sacerdotium, non potest. Epist. 40, § 4, p. 93.

<sup>d</sup> Altare profanum. Epist. 65, § 4, p. 193.

<sup>e</sup> Ὁ ἐντὸς θυσιαστηρίου ὢν, καθαρὸς ἔσιν, τοῦτ' ἔσιν, ὁ χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου καὶ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων πάσων τι, οὗτος οὐ καθαρὸς ἔσιν τῇ συνειδήσει. Epist. ad Tralles. p. 50.

<sup>f</sup> Ἐὰν μὴ τις ᾗ ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, ὑψεῖται τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ Θεοῦ. Epist. ad. Ephes. p. 20.

<sup>g</sup> Sub antistite contestamur nos renunciare diabolo et pompæ. De Corona Militis, p. 396.



says, "the bishops ought only to baptize:"<sup>a</sup> and to the same effect writes Fortunatus, bishop of Thucabori, that our Lord Jesus Christ "gave unto the bishops the power of baptizing."<sup>b</sup> So that the bishops did ordinarily baptize all the persons that were baptized in their diocesses; and if so, it is not probable, I may say possible, that their diocesses were extended beyond the bulk of single congregations.

4. The church's charity was deposited with the bishop, who, as Justin Martyr reports, "was the common curator and overseer of all the orphans, widows, diseased, strangers, imprisoned, and, in a word, of all those that were needy and indigent."<sup>c</sup> To this charitable office Ignatius adviseth Polycarpus;<sup>d</sup> but of that advice more shall be spoken in another place; only let us observe, that that diocess could not be very large where the bishop personally relieved and succoured all the poor and indigent therein.

5. All the people of a diocess were present at church censures, as Origen describes an offender as appearing "before the whole church."<sup>e</sup> So Clemens Romanus calls the censures of the church "the things commanded by the multitude."<sup>f</sup> And so the two offending sub-deacons and acolyth at Carthage were to be tried "before the whole people."<sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Non nisi ecclesiæ præpositis licere baptizare. Epist. 73, § 6, p. 220.

<sup>b</sup> Potestatem baptizandi episcopis dedit. Act. Concil. Carth. apud Cyprian. p. 445.

<sup>c</sup> Αὐτὸς ἐπικυρεῖ ὁρφανοῖς τὰ καὶ χήραις καὶ τοῖς διὰ νόσον ἢ δι' ἄλλην αἰτίαν λειπομένοις, καὶ τοῖς ἐν δεσμοῖς οὖσι, καὶ τοῖς παρεπιδήμοις οὖσι ξένοις, καὶ ἀπλῶς, τοῖς ἐν χρεῖᾳ οὖσι κηδεμὼν γίνεται. Apol. 2, p. 99.

<sup>d</sup> Epist. ad Polycarp. p. 12.

<sup>e</sup> Ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Comment. in Matth. Tom. 13, p. 335, vol. 1.

<sup>f</sup> Τὰ προσασσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους. Epist. 1 ad Cor. p. 69.

<sup>g</sup> Plebe universâ. Cyprian. Epist. 28, § 2, p. 64.

6. No offenders were restored again to the church's peace, without the knowledge and consent of the whole diocese: so Cyprian writes, that before they were re-admitted to communion "they were to plead their cause before all the people."<sup>a</sup> And it was ordained by an African synod, that except in danger of death, or an instantaneous persecution, none should be received into the church's peace "without the knowledge and consent of the people."<sup>b</sup>

7. When the bishop of a church was dead, all the people of that church met together in one place to choose a new bishop. So Sabinus was elected bishop of Emerita "by the suffrage of all the brotherhood;"<sup>c</sup> which was also the custom throughout all Africa, "for the bishop to be chosen in the presence of the people."<sup>d</sup> And so Fabianus was chosen to be bishop of Rome "by all the brethren who were met together in one place for that very end."<sup>e</sup>

8. At the ordination of the clergy the whole body of the people were present. So an African synod, held anno 258, determined "that the ordination of ministers ought to be done with the knowledge and in the presence of the people, that the people being present, either the crimes of the wicked may be detected, or the merits of the good declared; and so the ordination may be just and lawful, being approved by the suffrage and judgment of

<sup>a</sup> Acturi causam apud plebem universam. Epist. 10, § 4, p. 30.

<sup>b</sup> Sine petitu et conscientia plebis. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 59, § 1, p. 164.

<sup>c</sup> De universæ fraternitatis suffragio. Apud. Cyprian. Epist. 68, § 6, p. 102.

<sup>d</sup> Apud nos quoque et ferè per provincias universas tenetur, ut ad eam plebem cui præpositus ordinatur, episcopi ejusdem provinciæ proximi quique convenient, et episcopus deligatur plebe præsentē. Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> Τῶν γὰρ ἀδελφῶν ἀπάντων χειροτονίας ἕνεκεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας συγκεκροτημένων. Apud. Euseb. lib. 6, cap. 28, p. 229.

all."<sup>a</sup> And Bishop Cyprian writes from his exile to all the people of his diocese, that "it had been his constant practice in all ordinations to consult their opinions, and by their common counsels to weigh the manners and merits of every one:"<sup>b</sup> therein imitating the example of the apostles and apostolic men, who ordained none but with "the approbation of the whole church."<sup>c</sup>

9. Public letters from one church to another were read before the whole diocese. Thus Cornelius, bishop of Rome, whatever letters he received from foreign churches, "he always read them to his most holy and numerous people."<sup>d</sup> And without doubt, when Firmilian wrote "to all the parish of Antioch,"<sup>e</sup> they could all assemble together to read his letter and return an answer to it; since we find that in those days one whole church wrote to another whole church, as "the church of Rome wrote to the church of Corinth."<sup>f</sup> And Cyprian "and his whole flock"<sup>g</sup> sent gratulatory letters to Pope Lucius upon his return from exile.

Lastly, the whole diocese of the bishop did meet all

<sup>a</sup> Ordinationes sacerdotales non nisi sub populi assistentis conscientia fieri oportere, ut plebe præsente vel detegantur malorum crimina, vel bonorum merita prædicentur, et sit ordinatio justa et legitima, quæ omnium suffragio et judicio fuerit examinata. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 68, § 4, p. 201.

<sup>b</sup> In ordinationibus clericis, fratres charissimi, solemus vos ante consulere, et mores, ac merita singulorum communi concilio ponderare. Ad Plebem Universam. Epist. 33, p. 76.

<sup>c</sup> Συνευδοκησάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης. Clemens Romanus, epist. 1 ad Corin. p. 57.

<sup>d</sup> Sanctissimæ atque amplissimæ plebi legere. Cyprian. Epist. 55, § 21, p. 154.

<sup>e</sup> Τῇ παροίκια πάση. Epist. Synod. Antioch. apud Euseb. lib. 7, cap. 30, p. 279.

<sup>f</sup> Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ παροικοῦσα Ῥώμην, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ παροικοῦσῃ Κόρινθον. Clem. Rom. Epist. 1, p. 1.

<sup>g</sup> Fraternitas omnis. Cyprian. Epist. 58, § 2, p. 163.

together to manage church affairs. Thus when the schism of Filicissimus in the bishopric of Carthage was to be debated, "it was to be done according to the will of the people, and by the consent of the laity."<sup>a</sup> And when there were some hot disputes about the restitution of the lapsed, the said Cyprian promised his whole diocess, "that all those things should be examined before them, and be judged by them."<sup>b</sup> And so also when they were to send a messenger to any foreign church, all the people could meet together to choose that messenger, as they could in the "church of Philadelphia."<sup>c</sup>

Now put all these observations together, and duly consider whether they do not prove the primitive parishes to be no larger than our modern ones are, that is, that they had no more believers or Christians in them than there are now in ours. I do not say that the ancient bishoprics had no larger territories, or no greater space of ground than our parishes have. On the contrary, it is very probable that many of them had much more; since, in those early days of Christianity, in many places the faithful might be so few, as that for twenty or thirty miles round they might associate together under one bishop, and make up but one church, and that a small one too: but this I say, that how large soever their local extent was, their members made but one single congregation, and had no more Christians in it than our parishes now have; for that diocess cannot possibly be more than one single congregation where all the people met together at one time, prayed together, received the sacrament together, assisted at church censures together, and despatched church affairs

<sup>a</sup> Secundum arbitrium quoque vestrum, ea quæ agenda sunt disponere pariter et limare poterimus. Ad Plebem Epist. 40, § 7, p. 94.

<sup>b</sup> Tunc examinabuntur singula præsentibus et judicantibus vobis. Ad Plebem Epist. 12, § 1, p. 37.

<sup>c</sup> Χειροτονῆσαι διάκονον. Ignat. Epist. ad Phil. p. 45.

together ; and yet the members of the primitive dioceses did all this together, as the preceding observations evidently declare ; so that I might stop here, and add no further proofs to that which hath been already so clearly proved.

§ 3. But yet, that we may more clearly illustrate this point, we shall demonstrate it by another method, viz., by showing the real bulk and size of those bishoprics concerning which we have any notices remaining on ancient records ; and manifest, that the very largest of them were no greater than our particular congregations are. And for the proof of this we shall quote the writings of St. Ignatius, in whose genuine epistles there is such an account of the bishoprics of Smyrna, Ephesus, Magnesia, Philadelphia, and Trallium, as manifestly evidences them to be but so many single congregations.

As for the diocese of Smyrna, its extent could not be very large, since “ nothing of church affairs was done there without the bishop ; he baptized and administered the eucharist, and none else could do it within his cure without his permission ; wherever he was his whole flock followed him ;”<sup>a</sup> which they might, without any incon-  
 veniency, do, since they “ frequently assembled together ;”<sup>b</sup> as Ignatius advised Polycarp, the bishop of this church, “ to convene his diocess to choose a faithful, honest man to send a messenger into Syria :”<sup>c</sup> so that the bishop of this church “ could know his whole flock personally by their names,”<sup>d</sup> carrying himself respectfully and

<sup>a</sup> Μηδεὶς χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τι πρᾶσσει τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω ἢ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὐσα ἢ ὧς ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ· ὅπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔσω οὐκ ἔξω ἐξω χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν, οὔτε ἀγάσῃν ποιεῖν, ἀλλ’ ὃ ἂν ἐκεῖνος δοκιμάσῃ. Epist. ad Smyrn. p. 6.

<sup>b</sup> Πυκνώτερον συναγωγὰς γινέσθωσαν. Epist. ad Polycarp. p. 13.

<sup>c</sup> Πρεπεὶ συμβούλιον ἀγαγεῖν χειροτονῆσαι τινὰ, &c. Ibid. p. 15.

<sup>d</sup> Ἐξ ὀνόματος πάντας ζῆται. Ibid. p. 13.

charitably to all "with all meekness and humility toward serving men and serving maids,"<sup>a</sup> and charitably, "taking care of the widows within his diocess,"<sup>b</sup> permitting "nothing to be done there without his privity."<sup>c</sup> Inasmuch "that none were married without his previous advice and consent."<sup>d</sup> Now, how all these things could be done, how all this bishopric could meet together in one place, how the bishop could personally know all the members thereof by their respective names, even the meanest serving maids therein, and permit none to be married without his knowledge and advice, without reducing this diocess to a single parish, I know not.

§ 4. As to the diocess of Ephesus, there was but one altar or communion-table in its whole territory, at which they all communicated together; whence they are said "to break the one bread;"<sup>e</sup> and "he that was without, or separated from that altar," is said "to want the bread of God."<sup>f</sup> The members also of this church could all meet together in one place, to send up their joint prayers to God in Christ: and therefore Ignatius condemns all those of that diocess "who did not assemble together in that one place, with the rest of the members thereof, to send up their prayers to God, as proud, self-conceited, and justly condemnable;"<sup>g</sup> because thereby they deprived themselves of that inconceivable benefit that would accrue unto them by joining in the prayers of the whole church.

<sup>a</sup> Δούλους καὶ δούλας μὴ ὑπερηφάνει. Epist. ad Polycarp. p. 13.

<sup>b</sup> Χῆραι μὴ ἀμελείσθωσαν. Ibid. p. 12.

<sup>c</sup> Μηδὲν ἄνευ γνώμης σου γινέσθω. Ibid. p. 12.

<sup>d</sup> Πρέσβει δὲ τοῖς γαμοῦσι καὶ ταῖς γαμουμέναις μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τὴν ἐνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι. Ibid. p. 13.

<sup>e</sup> Ἐνα ἄρτον κλῶντες. Epist. ad Ephes. pp. 20, 29.

<sup>f</sup> Ἐὰν μὴ τις ἢ ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, ὑξερεῖται τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ibid. p. 20.

<sup>g</sup> Ὁ οὖν μὴ ἐρχόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, οὗτος ἤδη ὑπερηφάνει, καὶ ἑαυτὸν διεκρίνεν. Ibid. p. 20.

“For if the prayer of one or two hath so great a force with God, how much more prevalent must the prayer of the bishop and the whole church be!”<sup>a</sup> So that if to communicate together, and to pray together, be the marks of a particular church, then this bishopric was one.

§ 5. As to the church of Magnesia, they all assembled with the bishop, having but “one church,”<sup>b</sup> and “one altar,”<sup>c</sup> “joining all together in one prayer,”<sup>d</sup> because “to have congregated elsewhere would have been against conscience and precept.”<sup>e</sup> Now how large such a church is, where there is but one meeting-place, and one altar, where all communicate and pray together, is no hard matter to determine.

§ 6. Touching the bishopric of Philadelphia, its extent may be guessed at by this, that the members thereof “could do nothing without the bishop,”<sup>f</sup> “who being their shepherd, wherever he was they were to follow him like sheep,”<sup>g</sup> “receiving the sacrament altogether from him,”<sup>h</sup> “at that one altar belonging to their diocess;”<sup>i</sup> which they might well enough do, since their multitudes were not so great, but that on other occasions they could meet all together, as “to choose a messenger to send to the church at Antioch in Syria.”<sup>k</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Εἰ γὰρ ἑνὸς καὶ δευτέρου προσευχῇ τοσαύτην ἰσχὺν ἔχει, ποσὴ μᾶλλον ἦτε τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ πάσης ἐκκλησίας. Epist. ad Ephes. p. 20.

<sup>b</sup> Εἰς ναὸς Θεοῦ. Epist. ad Magnes. p. 34.

<sup>c</sup> Ἐν θυσιαστήριον. Ibid. p. 34.

<sup>d</sup> Ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μὲν προσευχῇ. Ibid. p. 33.

<sup>e</sup> Οὐκ εὐσυνείδητοι διὰ τὸ μὴ βεβαίως κατ' ἐντολὴν συναθροισεσθαι. Ibid. p. 32.

<sup>f</sup> Ὅσοι γὰρ Θεοῦ εἰσὶν μετὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσὶν. Epist. ad Phil. p. 40.

<sup>g</sup> Ὅπου δὲ ὁ ποιμὴν ἐστίν, ἐκεῖ ὡς πρόβατα ἀκολουθεῖτε. Ibid. p. 40.

<sup>h</sup> Μία Εὐχαριστία χρῆσθαι ἐν ποτήριον. Ibid. p. 40.

<sup>i</sup> Ἐν θυσιαστήριον. Ibid. p. 41.

<sup>k</sup> Χειροτονῆσαι διάκονον εἰς τὸ πρεσβεῦσαι ἐκεῖ Θεοῦ πρεσβεῖαν. Ibid. p. 45.

§ 7. As for the diocese of Trallium, that could be no larger than the former ones, since it had but one altar in it, which was correlate to its one bishop; so that to separate from the altar was the same as to separate from the bishop; whence Ignatius says, that "he that is within the altar is pure;" that is, "he that doth any thing without the bishop, priests, and deacons, is impure."<sup>a</sup>

Now let any impartial man judge whether all these descriptions of those ancient diocesses do not forcibly constrain us to reduce them to the rate of our modern parishes. And if these were no greater, especially Ephesus, at which place St. Paul preached three years, we have no reason to imagine that other bishoprics, where the apostles never were, or at least never preached so long, surmounted their bulk and largeness.

How long it was before these diocesses swelled into several congregations is not my business to determine, since it happened not within my prescribed time; except in the church of Alexandria; the reason and manner whereof shall be shown in a few leaves more, after that I have more fully evidenced this point, by demonstrating that the greatest bishoprics in the world, even in the third century, were no more than so many single congregations: and if this can be proved, it is the solidest demonstration that can be given: for the larger a church was, and the more time it had to settle and increase itself, the greater reason have we to expect that it should exceed all others in numbers and diffusiveness.

Now the four greatest diocesses that in those days were in the world, are Antioch, Rome, Carthage, and Alexandria: the three former of which, during the whole

<sup>a</sup> 'Ο ἐντὸς θυσιαστηρίου ὡν καθαρὸς ἐστίν, τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ὁ χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου καὶ πρεσβυτερίου, καὶ διακόνου πράσσων τι οὗτος οὐ καθαρὸς ἐστίν τῇ συνειδήσει. Epist. ad Tralles. p. 50.



three hundred years after Christ, never branched themselves into several particular congregations, though the latter did, as shall be hereafter shown.

§ 8. As for the diocese of Antioch, its members were not so many, but that two hundred and sixty-five years after Christ they were able to meet all in one place, of which we have this memorable instance, that when Paulus Samosatenus, the heretical bishop thereof, was deprived by a synod held in that place, and Domnus substituted in his room, “he refused to resign the church’s house,”<sup>a</sup> till the emperor Aurelian forced him to resign “that house :”<sup>b</sup> so that for above two hundred and fifty years after Christ, the whole bishopric of Antioch had but one church to serve God in.

§ 9. How large the diocese of Rome was, may be conjectured by that,

1. All the people thereof could meet together to perform divine service, as appears by that history of a certain confessor called Natalis, who, returning from the Theodosian heresy, put himself into the habit of a penitent, threw himself at the feet of the clergy and laity, as they went into their public meeting place, and so bewailed his fault, “that at length the church was touched with compassion toward him.”<sup>c</sup>

2. In this diocese there was but one church or meeting place; for when Bishop Anterus died, “all the brethren met together in the church”<sup>d</sup> to choose a successor; which

<sup>a</sup> Μηδαμῶς ἐκστῆναι τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἴκου. Apud Euseb. lib. 7, cap. 30, p. 282.

<sup>b</sup> Τὸν οἶκον. Ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Προσπεσεῖν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, κλήρῳ, λαϊκῶν, τὴν εὐσπλαγχνὸν ἐκκλησίαν τῇ δεήσει χρησαμένον. Anonym. apud Euseb. lib. 5, cap. 28, p. 197.

<sup>d</sup> Ἀδελφῶν ἀπάντων ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας συγκεκροτημένων. Apud Euseb. lib. 6, cap. 28, p. 229.

distinction or nomination of place, viz., that they met in the church, denotes that they had but one church all ; for if they had had more churches than one, the historian would have left us in the dark as to what church they met in, whether in St. James's, St. John's, or St. Peter's.

3. In this bishopric also they had but one altar or communion-table, as appears from a passage of Cyprian, who describes the schism of Novatian, a presbyter of this church, by " his erecting a profane altar,"<sup>a</sup> in opposition to the altar of Cornelius, his lawful bishop.

4. The whole diocess could concur together in salutations and letters to other churches. Thus concludes a letter of the clergy of Rome to the clergy of Carthage, " The brethren which are in bonds salute you, and the presbyters, and the whole church."<sup>b</sup>

5. Whatever letters were written to that church, were read before them all, as it was the custom of Bishop Cornelius " to read all public letters to his most holy and most numerous flock."<sup>c</sup>

Lastly, the people of this diocess met all together to choose a bishop, when the see was vacant. So, upon the death of Anterus, " all the brethren met together in the church to choose a successor,"<sup>d</sup> where all the people unanimously chose Fabianus. And so, after the death of Fabianus, Cornelius was chosen bishop of that diocess " by the suffrage of the clergy and people."<sup>e</sup>

Now whether all these things put together—whether

<sup>a</sup> Profanum altare erigere. Epist. 67, § 2, p. 198.

<sup>b</sup> Salutant vos fratres, qui sunt in vinculis, et presbyteri, et tota ecclesia. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 3, § 3, p. 12.

<sup>c</sup> Sanctissimæ atque amplissimæ plebi, legere te semper literas nostras. Cyprian. Epist. 55, § 21, p. 144.

<sup>d</sup> Τῶν γὰρ ἀδελφῶν ἀπάντων ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας συγκεκροτημένων, τοὺς πάντα λαόν. Apud Euseb. lib. 6, cap. 28, p. 229.

<sup>e</sup> Cleri ac plebis suffragio. Cyprian. Epist. 67, § 2, p. 198.

their having but one communion-table in their whole diocess, as also but one church, where they all usually met—do not unavoidably reduce this bishopric to the circumference of a modern parish, I leave every man to judge.

§ 10. The next diocess to be considered is Carthage, which, next to Rome and Alexandria, was the greatest city in the world, and probably had as many Christians in it as either, especially if that is true which Tertullian insinuates, that the tenth part thereof was Christian; for he remonstrates to Scapula, the persecuting president of that city, that “if he should destroy the Christians of Carthage, he must root out the tenth part thereof.”<sup>a</sup> But yet how many soever the Christians of that bishopric were, even some years after Tertullian’s days, they were no more in number than they are now in our parishes, as is evident from scores of passages in the writings of Cyprian, bishop of that church. For,

1. The bishop of that diocess “could know every one therein.”<sup>b</sup>

2. The bishop of that diocess was the common curator of all the poor therein, relieving the poor and indigent, paying off their debts, and aiding the necessitous tradesmen with money to set up their trades. As Cyprian, when he was in his exiled state, sent Caldonius, Herculanus, Rogatianus, and Numidicus, to his church at Carthage “to pay off the debts of the indebted members thereof, and to help those poor mechanics with a convenient sum of money who were willing to set up their trades.”<sup>c</sup> If Cyprian’s diocess had consisted of scores of

<sup>a</sup> Quid ipsa Carthago passura est, decimanda a te. Ad Scapulam, p. 450.

<sup>b</sup> Ut omnes optime nossem. Cyprian. Epist. 58, § 1, p. 90.

<sup>c</sup> Ut expungeretis necessitates fratrum nostrorum sumptibus, si qui etiam vellent suas artes exercere, additamento quantum satis esset, desideria eorum juvaretis. Idem. ibid.

parishes, how many thousand pounds must he have expended to have paid off the debts of all the insolvent persons therein, and to have assisted every poor trader with a sufficient stock to carry on his employment?

3. All the diocess was present when the sacrament of the Lord's supper was administered. So saith Cyprian, "We celebrate the sacrament, the whole brotherhood being present."<sup>a</sup>

4. When Celerinus was ordained lector or clerk by Cyprian, he read from the pulpit, so that "all the people"<sup>b</sup> could see and hear him.

5. In all ordinations all the people were consulted, and none were admitted into holy orders without their approbation, as is assured by Cyprian, bishop of this diocess, who tells us that it was his constant custom "in all ordinations to consult his people, and with their common counsel to weigh the merits of every candidate of the sacred orders."<sup>c</sup> And therefore, when for extraordinary merits he advanced one to the degree of lector or clerk, without first communicating it to his diocess, he writes from his exiled state "to his whole flock the reason of it."<sup>d</sup>

6. When that see was vacant, all the people met together to choose a bishop. Whence Pontius says, that Cyprian was elected bishop of this diocess "by the favour of the people."<sup>e</sup> And Cyprian himself acknowledges that he was chosen by "the suffrage of all his people."<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Sacramenti veritatem fraternitate omni præsente celebramus. Epist. 63, § 12, p. 117.

<sup>b</sup> Plebi Universæ. Epist. 34, § 4, p. 82.

<sup>c</sup> In ordinationibus clericis, fratres charissimi, solemus vos ante consulere, et mores ac merita singulorum communi consilio ponderare. Epist. 33 ad Clerum et Plebem, p. 76.

<sup>d</sup> Plebi Universæ. Epist. 34, p. 80.

<sup>e</sup> Plebis favore. In Vita Cypriani.

<sup>f</sup> Populi universi suffragio. Epist. 55, § 7, p. 139.

7. All the people of this diocess could meet together to send letters to other churches; an instance whereof we have in that gratulatory letter still extant by Cyprian, which they "all sent to Lucius, bishop of Rome, on his return from exile."<sup>a</sup>

8. All the people were present at church censures, and concurred at the "excommunication of offenders."<sup>b</sup> Thus Cyprian, writing from his exile to the people of this his diocess, about the irregularities of two of his sub-deacons, and one of his acolyths, and about the schism of Felicissimus, assures them, that as to the former, whenever it should please God to return him in peace, "it should be determined by him and his colleagues, and his whole flock."<sup>c</sup> And as to the latter, that then likewise that should be transacted "according to the abitrement of the people, and the common counsel of them all."<sup>d</sup>

9. At the absolution of penitents all the people were present, who examined the reality of the offenders' repentance, and, if well satisfied of it, consented that they should be admitted to the church's peace. Therefore, when some presbyters, in a time of persecution, had, with too great rashness and precipitancy, assailed some of those that through the violence of the persecution had succumbed, Cyprian writes them from his exile an objugatory letter, commanding them to admit no more till peace should be restored to the church, when those offenders should plead their cause "before all the people."<sup>e</sup> And touching

<sup>a</sup> Vicarias vero pro nobis ego et collegæ, et fraternitas omnis has ad vos literas mittimus. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 58, § 2, p. 163.

<sup>b</sup> Secundum vestra divina suffragia conjurati. Epist. 4 ad Plebem, § 1, p. 92.

<sup>c</sup> Et cum plebe ipsa universa. Epist. 28, § 2, p. 64.

<sup>d</sup> Secundum arbitrium quoque vestrum, et omnium nostrum commune consilium. Epist. 40 ad Plebem, § 7, p. 94.

<sup>e</sup> Acturi apud Plebem universam causam suam. Epist. 10, § 7, p. 30.

the same matter he writes in another place to all the people of his diocess, that when it should please God to restore peace to the church, then all those matters "should be examined in their presence, and be judged by them."<sup>a</sup>

Lastly, nothing was done in the diocess without the consent of the people. So resolved Bishop Cyprian: "From the first time I was made bishop," said he, "I determined to do nothing without the consent of my people."<sup>b</sup> And accordingly, when he was exiled from his flock, he wrote to the clergy and laity thereof, that when it should please God to return him unto them, "all affairs, as their mutual honour did require, should be debated in common by them."<sup>c</sup>

Now whether all these observations do not evidently reduce the diocess of Carthage to the same bulk with our parishes, I leave to every one to determine: for my part I must needs profess, that I cannot imagine how all the people thereof could receive the sacrament together, assist at the excommunication and absolution of offenders, assemble together to elect their bishop, and do the rest of those fore-mentioned particulars, without confining this bishopric within the limits of a particular congregation.

§ 11. As for the diocess of Alexandria, though the numbers of the Christians therein were not so many, but that in the middle of the fourth century they could all, or at least most of them, meet together in one place, as I might evince from the writings of Athanasius,<sup>d</sup> were it not beyond my prescribed time; yet in the third century they

<sup>a</sup> *Examinabuntur singula præsentibus et judicantibus vobis. Epist. 12 ad Plebem, § 1, p. 30.*

<sup>b</sup> *A primordio episcopatus mei statueram nihil sine consensu plebis meæ privatâ sententiâ gerere. Epist. 6, § 5, p. 17.*

<sup>c</sup> *De iis quæ vel gesta sunt, vel gerenda, sicut honor mutuus poscit, in commune tractabimus. Epist. 6, § 5, p. 17.*

<sup>d</sup> *Apolog. ad Constant.*

had divided themselves into several distinct and separate congregations, which were all subjected to one bishop, as is clearly enough asserted by Dionysius, bishop of this church, who mentions "the distinct congregations in the extremest suburbs of the city."<sup>a</sup> The reason whereof seems to be this: those members of this bishopric who lived in the remotest parts of it, finding it inconvenient and troublesome every Lord's day, Saturday, Wednesday, and Friday, (on which days they always assembled,) to go to their one usual meeting place, which was very far from their own homes; and withal being unwilling to divide themselves from their old church and bishop, lest they should seem guilty of the detestable sin of schism, which consisted in a causeless separation from their bishop and parish church, as shall be hereafter shown, desired their proper bishop to give them leave, for conveniency sake, to erect near their own habitations a chapel of ease, which should be a daughter church to the bishop's, under his jurisdiction, and guided by a presbyter of his commission and appointment, whereat they would usually meet, though on some solemn occasions they would still all assemble in one church with their one bishop.

That for this reason these separate congregations were introduced at Alexandria, seems evident enough; because Dionysius Alexandrinus saith, that these distinct congregations were only in the "remotest suburbs;"<sup>b</sup> and the Christians hereof were not as yet arrived to those great numbers but that seventy years after they could meet all together in one and the same place, as might be proved from that fore-mentioned place of Athanasius.

So that these distinct congregations were only for the conveniency and ease of those who lived at a great dis-

<sup>a</sup> *Ἐν προαείοις πορρωτέρω κειμένοις κατὰ μέρος ἔσονται συναγωγαί.*  
Advers. Germanum apud Euseb. lib. 7, cap. 11, p. 260.

<sup>b</sup> *Ἐν προαείοις πορρωτέρω κειμένοις.* Vide ut antea.

tance from the bishop's church, being introduced in the third century, and peculiar to the bishopric of Alexandria: all other bishoprics confining themselves within their primitive bounds of a single congregation, as we have before proved the largest of them did; even Antioch, Rome, and Carthage.

§ 12. If then a bishopric was but a single congregation, it is no marvel that we find bishops not only in cities, but in country villages; there being a bishop constituted wherever there were believers enough to form a competent congregation; "for," says Clemens Romanus, "the apostles going forth and preaching both in country and city, constituted bishops and deacons there."<sup>a</sup> Much to which purpose Cyprian says, that "bishops were ordained throughout all provinces and cities:"<sup>b</sup> hence in the encyclical epistle of the synod of Antioch it is said, that Paulus Samosatenus had many flatterers "among the adjacent city and country bishops;"<sup>c</sup> of this sort of country bishops was Zoticus, bishop "of the village of Comane."<sup>d</sup> And we may reasonably believe that many of those bishops who, in the year 258 were assembled at Carthage\* to the number of fourscore and seven, had no other than obscure villages for their seats, since we find not the least notice of them in Ptolemy, or any of the old geographers.

§ 13. But let the bishops' seats have been in any place whatever, their limits, as hath been proved, exceeded not

<sup>a</sup> Κατὰ χώρας οὖν καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες καθίστανον — εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους. Epist. 1 ad Corinth. p. 54.

<sup>b</sup> Per omnes provincias, et per urbes singulas ordinati sunt episcopi. Epist. 52, § 10, p. 119.

<sup>c</sup> Ἐπισκόπους τῶν ὁμῶν ἀγρῶν τε καὶ πόλεων. Apud Euseb. lib. 7, cap. 30, p. 281.

<sup>d</sup> Ζωτικὸν ἀπὸ Κομάνης κώμης. Anonym. apud Euseb. lib. 5, cap. 16, p. 182.

\* Concil. Carthag. apud Cyprian. p. 448.



those of our modern parishes. I do not here mean, as was said before, that the territory of some of them was no larger; no, I readily grant that; for it is very probable that in those places where there were but few believers, the Christians, for several miles round, met all together at the greatest place within that compass, where, probably, there were most Christians, whence both the church and its bishop took their denomination from that place where they so assembled. But this is what I mean, that there were no more Christians in that bishopric than there are now in our ordinary parishes; and that the believers of that whole territory met all together, with their bishop, for the performance of religious services.

Thus it was in the age and country of Justin Martyr; who, describing their solemn assemblies, writes, that "on Sunday all the inhabitants, both of city and country, met together, where the lector read some portions of the Holy Scriptures; and the bishop preached unto them, administered the eucharist, and sent by the deacons part of the consecrated elements to those that were absent." <sup>a</sup> So that the inhabitants, both of city and country, assembled all at the bishop's church; hearing him, and communicating with him: following herein the exhortation of St. Ignatius to the Magnesians, "Let nothing," saith he, "be in you that may divide you; but be united to the bishop and those that preside over you. As, therefore, our Lord Jesus Christ did nothing without his Father, neither by himself nor his apostles, so do you nothing without the bishop and presbyters, but assemble into one place, and have one prayer, one supplication, one mind, and one hope." <sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρᾳ πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται—ὁ προέσως διὰ λόγου τὴν νοῦθεσιν ποιεῖται· ἐπεὶτα ἄρτος προσφέρεται, καὶ ὁ προεσὼς εὐχὰς ἀναπέμπει—καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσι διὰ τῶν διακόνων πέμπεται. *Apol. 2, p. 98.*

<sup>b</sup> Μηδὲν ἐξω ἐν ὑμῖν ὁ θνήσκειται ὑμᾶς μερίσαι· ἀλλ' ἐνώθητε τῷ

## CHAPTER III.

§ 1. What the bishop's office was. § 2. Always resident on his cure. § 3. How the bishop was chosen, elected, or presented by the majority of the parish. § 4. Approved by the neighbouring bishops. § 5. Installed by imposition of hands. How many bishops necessary to this instalment. § 6. When a bishop was promoted, he certified it to other bishops. § 7. A brief recapitulation of the peculiar acts of the bishop.

§ 1. THE bishop's flock having been so largely discussed, it will now be necessary to speak something of the bishop's duty toward them, and of the several particulars of his honourable office. I shall not here be tedious, since about this there is no great difference; only briefly enumerate the several actions belonging to his charge.

In brief, therefore, the peculiar acts of his function were such as these: viz., preaching the word,<sup>a</sup> praying with his people,<sup>b</sup> administering the two sacraments of baptism,<sup>c</sup> and the Lord's supper,<sup>d</sup> taking care of the poor,<sup>e</sup> ordaining of ministers,<sup>f</sup> governing his flock, excommunicating of offenders,<sup>g</sup> absolving of penitents;<sup>h</sup> and, in a word, whatever acts can be comprised under those three general heads of preaching, worship, and government, were part of the bishop's function and office.<sup>i</sup>

I have but just named these things, because they are

*ἐπισκόπων, καὶ τοῖς προκαθημένοις—ὥσπερ οὖν κύριος ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἐποίησε ἡνῶμενος ὧν, οὔτε δι' ἑαυτοῦ, οὔτε διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων, οὕτως μηδὲ ὑμεῖς ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μηδὲν πράσσετε—ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μία προσευχή, μία δέησις, εἰς νοῦς, μία. ἑλπίς. Epist. ad Magnes. p. 33.*

<sup>a</sup> Origen. in Ezekiel. Hom. 3. <sup>b</sup> Justin. Martyr. Apol. 2, p. 98.

<sup>c</sup> Tertul. de Baptism. p. 602. <sup>d</sup> Idem. de Coron. Milit. p. 338.

<sup>e</sup> Justin. Martyr. Apol. 2, p. 99.

<sup>f</sup> Firmilian. apud Cypr. Epist. 75, § 6, p. 237.

<sup>g</sup> Tertul. Apol. cap. 39, p. 709. <sup>h</sup> Cypr. Epist. 36, § 2, p. 90.

<sup>i</sup> Idem. Epist. 10, § 2, p. 30.

not much controverted; and my design leads me chiefly to the consideration of those matters which have been unhappily disputed among us.

§ 2. To the constant discharge of those fore-mentioned actions did the primitive bishops sedulously apply themselves, continually preaching unto their people, praying with them, and watching over them; and, to that end, residing always with them: which incumbency or residency on their parishes was deemed so necessary, that Cyprian, enumerating the sins that brought the wrath of God upon the churches in that bloody persecution of Decius, mentions the bishops' non-residencies as one—"their leaving their rectories, and deserting their flocks, and wandering about the country to hunt after worldly gain and advantage;"<sup>a</sup> and, therefore, the said Cyprian, writing to the Roman confessors who were inveigled into the schism of Novatian, tells them, "that since he could not leave his church and come in person unto them,"<sup>b</sup> therefore, by his letters, he most earnestly exhorted them to quit that schismatical faction: so that he looked on his obligation of residency at his church to be so binding, as that in no case almost could he warrant his leaving of it; which determination of his might be the more fixed and peremptory, because that not long before he was so severely taxed by the Roman clergy,<sup>c</sup> and by many of his own parish,<sup>d</sup> for departing from them for a while, though it was to avoid the fury of his persecutors, who had already proscribed him, and would have executed him as a malefactor, had he not, by that recess from his church, escaped their murderous hand.

<sup>a</sup> *Episcopi derelictâ cathedrâ, plebe desertâ, per alias provincias oberrantes, negotiationis questuosæ nundinas aucupari. De Lapsis, § 4, p. 278.*

<sup>b</sup> *Nos ecclesiâ derelictâ, foras exire, et ad vos venire non possumus. Epist. 44, § 2, p. 102.*

<sup>c</sup> *Epist. 3 apud Cyprian. p. 11.*

<sup>d</sup> *Pontius in Vita Cypriani.*

So that the primitive apostolic bishops constantly resided with their flocks, conscientiously applying themselves, with the utmost diligence and industry, to the promotion of the spiritual welfare of those that were committed to their trust; employing themselves in all acts of piety and offices of charity; so leading a laborious and mortified life, till either a natural or a violent death removed them from earth to heaven, where they were made priests to the Most High, and were infinitely remunerated for all their pains and sorrows; and so leaving their particular flocks on earth to be fed and governed by others who should succeed them in their places; which brings me in the next place to inquire, how a vacant bishopric was supplied, or in what manner a bishop or minister was elected to a diocese or parish.

§ 3. Now the manner of electing a bishop I find to be thus: When a parish or bishopric was vacant through the death of the incumbent, all the members of that parish, both clergy and laity, met together in the church, commonly to choose a fit person for his successor, to whom they might commit the care and government of their church.

Thus, when Alexander was chosen bishop of Jerusalem, it was by the "compulsion or choice of the members of that church." And as for the bishopric of Rome, we have a memorable instance of this kind in the advancement of Fabianus to that see upon the death of Bishop Anterus. "All the people met together in the church to choose a successor, proposing several illustrious and eminent personages as fit for that office; whilst no one so much as thought upon Fabianus then present, till a dove miraculously came and sate upon his head, in the

\* 'Ἀδελφοὶ οὐκέτ' οἴκαδε αὐτῷ παλινὸς εἶν ἐπιτρέπουσι. Euseb. lib. 6, cap. 11, p. 312.

same manner as the Holy Ghost formerly descended on our Saviour; and then all the people, guided as it were with one divine Spirit, cried out with one mind and soul, that Fabianus was worthy of the bishopric: and so straight-ways taking him, they placed him on the episcopal throne.”<sup>a</sup> And as Fabianus, so likewise his successor Cornelius “was elected by the suffrage of the clergy and laity.”<sup>b</sup>

Thus also with respect to the diocess of Carthage, Cyprian was chosen bishop thereof by its inhabitants and members, as Pontius, his deacon, writes, “that though he was a novice, yet, by the grace of God and the favour of the people, he was elevated to that sublime dignity,”<sup>c</sup> which is no more than what Cyprian himself acknowledges, who frequently owns that he was promoted to that honourable charge by the “suffrage of the people.”<sup>d</sup>

§ 4. When the people had thus elected a bishop, they presented him to the neighbouring bishops for their approbation and consent, because, without their concurrent assent, there could be no bishop legally instituted or confirmed.

<sup>a</sup> Τῶν γὰρ ἀδελφῶν ἀπάντων χειροτονίας ἕνεκεν τῆς τοῦ μέλλοντος διαδεξέσθαι τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας συγκεκροτημένων, πλείστον τε ἐπιφανῶν καὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ ὑπαρχόντων, ὁ Φαβιανὸς παρὼν οὐδενὸς μὲν ἀνθρώπων εἰς διάνοιαν ἦει, ὅμως δ' οὖν ἀθρόως ἐκ μετεώρου περισερὰν καταπτῦσαν ἐπικαθεσθῆναι τῇ αὐτοῦ κεφαλῇ μνημονεύουσι, μῆμημα ἐνδεικνυμένην τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν σωτήρα τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐν εἰδεί περισερᾶς καθόδου, εφ' ᾧ τὸν πάντα λαὸν ὥσπερ ὑφ' ἑνὸς πνεύματος θείου κινήθέντα ὁμῶσε, προθυμίᾳ πάσῃ καὶ μιᾷ ψυχῇ ἄξιον ἐπιβοῆσαι καὶ ἀμελλήτως ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λαβόντας αὐτὸν ἐπιθεῖναι. Euseb. lib. 6, cap. 28, p. 229.

<sup>b</sup> Episcopo Cornelio—Cleri ac plebis suffragio ordinato. Cyprian. Epist. 67, § 2, p. 198.

<sup>c</sup> Judicio Dei, et plebis favore ad officium sacerdotii, et episcopatus gradum, adhuc neophytus electus est. In Vita Cypriani.

<sup>d</sup> Populi universi suffragio. Epist. 55, § 7, p. 139. Populi suffragium. Epist. 55, § 6, p. 138. Suffragium vestrum. Epist. 40, § 1, p. 92.

Thus when the fore-mentioned Alexander was chosen bishop of Jerusalem by the brethren of that place, he had also the "common consent of the circumjacent bishops."<sup>a</sup> Now the reason of this, I suppose, was, lest the people, through ignorance or affection, should choose an unfit or an unable man for that sacred office; it being supposed that a synod of bishops had more wisdom, learning, and prudence, than a congregation of unlearned and ignorant men, and so were better able to judge of the abilities and qualifications of the person elect than the people were. Hence we find, that sometimes the election of a bishop is attributed to the choice of the neighbouring bishops, with the consent and suffrage of the people: this custom generally prevailed throughout Africa, where, upon the vacancy of a see, "the neighbouring bishops of the province met together at that church, and chose a bishop in the presence of the people, who knew his life and conversation before; which custom was observed in the election of Sabinus, bishop of Emerita, in Spain, who was advanced to that dignity by the suffrage of all the brethren, and of all the bishops there present."<sup>b</sup> But whether the election of a bishop be ascribed to the adjoining ministers, or to the people of that parish, it comes all to one and the same thing; neither the choice of the bishops of the voisinage without the consent of the people, nor the election of the people without the approbation of those bishops, was suf-

<sup>a</sup> Τοῦτο δὲ πράξαντες μετὰ κοινῆς τῶν ἐπισκόπων οἱ τὰς πέριξ διεῖπον ἐκκλησίας γνώμης. Euseb. lib. 6, cap. 11, p. 212.

<sup>b</sup> Apud nos, et fere per provincias universas tenetur, ut ad ordinationes ritè celebrandas, ad eam plebem cui præpositus ordinatur, episcopi ejusdem provincie proximi quique convenient, et episcopus deligatur, plebe præsentē, quæ singulorum vitam plenissimè novit, et uniuscujusque actum de ejus conversatione perspexit. Quod factum videmus in Sabini ordinatione, ut de universæ fraternitatis suffragio, et de episcoporum judicio episcopatus ei deferretur. Synod. African. apud Cyprian. Epist. 68, § 6, p. 202.

ficient and valid of itself; but both concurred to a legal and orderly promotion, which was according to the example of the apostles and apostolic preachers, who, in the first plantation of the churches, "ordained bishops and deacons with the consent of the whole church."<sup>a</sup>

§ 5. A bishop being thus elected and confirmed, the next thing that followed was his ordination or instalment, which was done in his own church by the neighbouring bishops; as Cyprian mentions some bishops in his time, who went to a "city called Capse to install a bishop,"<sup>b</sup> whither, when they were come, they took the bishop elect, and, in the presence of his flock, ordained or installed him bishop of that church, by imposition of hands, as Sabinus was "placed in his bishopric by imposition of hands."<sup>c</sup> Therefore Fortunatus, the schismatical bishop of Carthage, "got five bishops to come and ordain him at Carthage:"<sup>d</sup> and so Novatian, when he schismatically aspired to the bishopric of Rome, that he might not seem to leap in uncanonically, "wheedled three ignorant and simple bishops to come to Rome and install him in that bishopric by imposition of hands."<sup>e</sup>

How many bishops were necessary to this installing of a bishop elect I find not; three were sufficient, as is ap-

<sup>a</sup> Κατασθέντας ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἢ μεταξὺ ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν συνευδοκησάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης. Clem. Roman. Epist. 1 ad Corinth. p. 57.

<sup>b</sup> In Capsensi civitate propter ordinationem episcopi essetis. Epist. 53, § 1, p. 131.

<sup>c</sup> Episcopatus ei deferretur, et manus ei imponerentur. Apud Cyp. Epist. 68, § 6, p. 202.

<sup>d</sup> Quinque pseudo-episcopi Carthaginem venerint, et Fortunatum sibi dementis suis socium constituerint. Cyprian. Epist. 55, § 12, p. 140.

<sup>e</sup> Ἐπισκόπους τρεῖς ἀνθρώπους ἀγροίκους καὶ ἀπλουστάτους πλεονεξίᾳ ἐπιχειρήσει ἐξαπατήσει—μετὰ βίας ἠνάγκασεν εἰκονικῇ τινὶ καὶ ματαίᾳ χειροπιθεσίᾳ ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτῷ δοῦναι. Cornel. apud Euseb. lib. 6, cap. 43, p. 243.

parent from the fore-cited action of Novatian ; whether less would do, I know not, since I find not the least footsteps of it in my antiquity, unless that from Novatian's sending for, and fetching just three bishops out of Italy, we conclude that number to be necessary.

But if there were more than three, it was not accounted unnecessary or needless ; for the more bishops there were present at an instalment, the more did its validity and unexceptionableness appear : whence Cyprian argues the undeniable legality of Cornelius's promotion to the see of Rome, because he had " sixteen bishops present at his ordination :"<sup>a</sup> and for this reason it was that Fortunatus, the schismatical bishop of Carthage, falsely boasted that there were " twenty-five bishops present at his instalment."<sup>b</sup> And thus, in short, we have viewed the method of the ancients in their election of bishops ; we have shown that they were elected by the people, approved and installed by the neighbouring bishops ; on which account it is that Cyprian calls them " chosen and ordained."<sup>c</sup>

§ 6. It may not now be amiss to mention this custom, that when a bishop was thus presented and advanced to a see, he immediately gave notice of it to other bishops, especially to the most renowned bishops and bishoprics, as Cornelius wrote to Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, an account of his being promoted to the see of Rome ;<sup>d</sup> betwixt which two churches there was such a peculiar intercourse and harmony, as that this custom was more particularly observed by them, insomuch that it was ob-

<sup>a</sup> Episcopo in ecclesia à sexdecim coepiscopis facto. Epist. 52, § 16, p. 119.

<sup>b</sup> Jactare viginti quinque episcopos affuisse. Cyprian. Epist. 55, § 12, p. 140.

<sup>c</sup> Delecti, ordinati. Epist. 41, § 2, p. 97.

<sup>d</sup> Tu te episcopum factum literis nunciares. Cyprian. Epist. 42, § 4, p. 99.



served by the schismatical bishops of each church, Novatian giving notice to Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, of his promotion to the church of Rome,<sup>a</sup> and Fortunatus advising Cornelius, bishop of Rome, of his advancement to the church of Carthage.<sup>b</sup>

§ 7. Let what hath been spoken now suffice for the peculiar acts of the bishop: we have proved that there was but one bishop to a church, and one church to a bishop; we have shown the bishop's office and function, election and ordination; what further to add on this head I know not: for as for those other acts which he performed jointly with his flock, we must refer them to another place, till we have handled those other matters which previously propose themselves unto us. The first of which will be an examination into the office and order of a presbyter, which, because it will be somewhat long, shall be the subject of the following chapter.

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#### CHAPTER IV.

§ 1. The definition and description of a presbyter; what he was.

§ 2. Inferior to a bishop in degree: § 3. But equal to a bishop in order.

§ 4. The reason why there were many presbyters in a church.

§ 5. Presbyters not necessary to the constitution of a church. § 6.

When presbyters began.

§ 1. It will be both needless and tedious to endeavour to prove that the ancients generally mention presbyters distinct from bishops. Every one, I suppose, will readily own and acknowledge it. The great question

<sup>a</sup> Venerunt ad nos missi à Novatiano maximus presbyter, &c. Cyprian. Epist. 41, § 1, p. 96.

<sup>b</sup> Ad te legati à Fortunato missi. Idem. Epist. 55, § 18, p. 143.

which hath most deplorably sharpened and soured the minds of too many is, what the office and order of a presbyter was : about this the world hath been, and still is, most uncharitably divided ; some equalize a presbyter in every thing with a bishop ; others as much debase him ; each, according to their particular opinions, either advance or degrade him. In many controversies a middle way hath been the safest ; perhaps in this, the medium between the two extremes may be the truest : whether what I am now going to say be the true state of the matter, I leave to the learned reader to determine. I may be deceived : neither my years nor abilities exempt me from mistakes and errors : but this I must needs say, that after the most diligent researches, and impartiallest inquiries, the following notion seems to me most plausible, and most consentaneous to truth, and which, with a great facility and clearness, solves those doubts and objections which, according to those other hypotheses, I know not how to answer. But yet, however, I am not so wedded and bigoted to this opinion, but if any shall produce better, and more convincing arguments to the contrary, I will not contentiously defend, but readily relinquish it, since I search after truth, not to promote a particular party or interest.

Now, for the better explication of this point, I shall first lay down a definition and description of a presbyter, and then prove the parts thereof.

Now the definition of a presbyter may be this : a person in holy orders, having thereby an inherent right to perform the whole office of a bishop ; but being possessed of no place or parish, not actually discharging it, without the permission and consent of the bishop of a place or parish.

But lest this definition should seem obscure, I shall illustrate it by the following instance : as a curate hath

the same mission and power with a minister whose place he supplies, yet, being not the minister of that place, he cannot perform there any acts of his ministerial function without leave from the minister thereof: so a presbyter had the same order and power with a bishop whom he assisted in his cure; yet being not the bishop or minister of that cure, he could not there perform any parts of his pastoral office without the permission of the bishop thereof; so that what we generally render bishops, priests, and deacons, would be more intelligible in our tongue if we did express it by rectors, vicars, and deacons; by rectors understanding the bishops; and by vicars the presbyters; the former being the actual incumbents of a place, and the latter curates or assistants, and so different in degree, but yet equal in order.

Now this is what I understand by a presbyter; for the confirmation of which these two things are to be proved:

I. That the presbyters were the bishops' curates and assistants, and so inferior to them in the actual exercise of their ecclesiastical commission.

II. That yet, notwithstanding, they had the same inherent right with the bishops, and so were not of a distinct specific order from them. Or, more briefly, thus:

1. That the presbyters were different from the bishops *in gradu*, or in degree; but yet,

2. They were equal to them *in ordine*, or in order.

§ 2. As to the first of these; that presbyters were but the bishops' curates and assistants, inferior to them in degree, or in the actual discharge of their ecclesiastical commission. This will appear to have been, in effect, already proved, if we recollect what has been asserted touching the bishop and his office, that there was but one bishop in a church; that he usually performed all the parts of divine service; that he was the general disposer and manager of all things within his diocese, there being

nothing done there without his consent and approbation : to which we may particularly add,

1. That without the bishop's leave a presbyter could not baptize : thus saith Tertullian : " The bishop hath the right of baptizing, then the presbyters, and deacons, but yet, for the honour of the church, not without the authority of the bishop ;"<sup>a</sup> and to the same effect saith Ignatius, " It is not lawful for any one to baptize except the bishop permit him."<sup>b</sup>

2. Without the bishop's permission, a presbyter could not administer the Lord's supper. " That eucharist," says Ignatius, " is only valid, which is performed by the bishop, or by whom he shall permit ; for it is not lawful for any one to celebrate the eucharist without leave from the bishop."<sup>c</sup>

3. Without the bishop's consent a presbyter could not preach ; and when he did preach, he could not choose his own subject, but discoursed on those matters which were enjoined him by the bishop, as " the bishop commanded Origen to preach about the witch of Endor."<sup>d</sup>

4. Without the bishop's permission a presbyter could not absolve offenders, therefore Cyprian " severely chides some of his presbyters because they dared, in his absence, without his consent and leave, to give the church's peace to some offending criminals."<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Baptismum dandi habet jus—episcopus, dehinc presbyteri et diaconi, non tamen sine episcopi auctoritate propter ecclesiæ honorem. *De Baptism.* p. 602.

<sup>b</sup> Οὐκ ἔξδν ἔσιν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν. *Epist. ad Smyrn.* p. 6.

<sup>c</sup> Εκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω ἢ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπισκοπικὸν οὖσα, ἢ ὡς ἀν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ· οὐκ ἔξδν ἔσιν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἀγάπην ποιεῖν. *Ibidem.* p. 6.

<sup>d</sup> Τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐγγαστριμύθου, φήσιν, ἐξεταζέσθω. *Homil. de Engastrim.* p. 28, vol. 1.

<sup>e</sup> Aliqui de presbyteris, nec evangelii, nec loci sui memores, sed ne-

But what need I reckon up particulars, when in general there was no ecclesiastical office performed by the presbyters, without the consent and permission of the bishop: so says Ignatius: "Let nothing be done of ecclesiastical concerns without the bishop;"<sup>a</sup> for "whosoever doth any thing without the knowledge of the bishop, is a worshipper of the devil."<sup>b</sup>

Now had the presbyters had an equal power in the government of those churches wherein they lived, how could it have been impudent and usurping in them to have performed the particular acts of their ecclesiastical function without the bishop's leave and consent? No; it was not fit or just that any one should preach or govern in a parish without the permission of the bishop or pastor thereof; for where churches had been regularly formed under the jurisdiction of their proper bishops, it had been an unaccountable impudence, and a most detestable act of schism for any one, though never so legally ordained, to have entered those parishes, and there to have performed ecclesiastical administrations, without the permission of, or, which is all one, in defiance to the bishops or ministers thereof; for though a presbyter, by his ordination, had as ample an inherent right and power to discharge all clerical offices as any bishop in the world had, yet peace, unity, and order obliged him not to invade that part of God's church which was committed to another man's care, without that man's approbation and consent.

que futurum domini judicium, neque nunc sibi præpositum episcopum cogitantes, quod nunquam omnino sub antecessoribus factum est, cum contumeliâ et contemptu præpositi totum sibi vendicent. Epist. 10, § 1, p. 29. Vide etiam Epist. 11, § 1, p. 32. et Epist. 12, § 1, p. 37.

<sup>a</sup> Μηδεις χωρις του επισκοπου τι πρασσειτω των ανηκοντων εις την εκκλησιαν. Epist. ad Smyrn. p. 6.

<sup>b</sup> Ο λάθρα επισκοπου τι πράσων τῷ διαβόλῳ λατρεῖ. Idem. ibid. p. 7.

So then in this sense a presbyter was inferior to a bishop in degree, in that having no parish of his own, he could not actually discharge the particular acts of his ministerial function without leave from the bishop of a parish or diocese: the bishops were superior to the presbyters in that they were the presented, instituted, and inducted ministers of their respective parishes; and the presbyters were inferior to the bishops in that they were but their curates and assistants.

§ 3. But though the presbyters were thus different from the bishops in degree, yet they were of the very same specific order with them, having the same inherent right to perform those ecclesiastical offices which the bishop did, as will appear from these three arguments:

1. That by the bishop's permission they discharged all those offices which a bishop did. 2. That they were called by the same titles and appellations as the bishops were: and, 3. That they are expressly said to be of the same order with the bishops. As to the first of these—that by the bishop's permission they discharged all those offices which a bishop did—this will appear from that,

1. When the bishop ordered them, they preached. Thus Origen, in the beginning of some of his sermons, tells us, that he was commanded thereunto by the bishop, as particularly when he preached about the witch of Endor he says, “the bishop commanded him to do it.”<sup>a</sup>

2. By the permission of the bishop presbyters baptized. Thus writes Tertullian: “The bishop has the right of baptizing, and then the presbyters, but not without his leave.”<sup>b</sup>

3. By the leave of the bishop, presbyters administered

<sup>a</sup> Τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐγχαρισμύθου, φήσιν, ἐξεταζέσθω. Hom. de Engastrim. p. 28, vol. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Baptismus dandi habet jus episcopus, dehinc presbyteri et diaconi, non tamen sine episcopi auctoritate. De Baptism. p. 602.

the eucharist, as must be supposed in that saying of Ignatius, that "that eucharist only was valid which was celebrated by the bishop, or by one appointed by him; and that the eucharist could not be delivered but by the bishop, or by one whom he did approve."<sup>a</sup>

4. The presbyters ruled in those churches to which they belonged, else this exhortation of Polycarpus to the presbyters of Philippi would have been in vain: "Let the presbyters be tender and merciful, compassionate toward all, reducing those that are in errors, visiting all that are weak, not negligent of the widow and the orphan, and him that is poor; but ever providing what is honest in the sight of God and men; abstaining from all wrath, respect of persons, and unrighteous judgment; being far from covetousness, not hastily believing a report against any man, not rigid in judgment, knowing that we are all faulty, and obnoxious to judgment."<sup>b</sup> Hence,

5. They presided in church consistories together with the bishop, and composed the executive part of the ecclesiastical court; from whence it was called the presbytery, because in it, as Tertullian says, "approved elders did preside."<sup>c</sup>

6. They had also the power of excommunication, as Rogatianus and Numidicus,<sup>d</sup> two presbyters of Cyprian's church, by his order, joined with some bishops of his nomination in the excommunication of certain schismatics of his diocese. But of both these two heads more will be spoken in another place.

<sup>a</sup> *Εκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω ἥ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὖσα, ἥ φαν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ—οὐκ ἐξὸν ἔστιν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἀγάπην ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ὃν ἂν ἐκεῖνος δοκιμάσῃ.* Epist. ad Smyrn. p. 6.

<sup>b</sup> Epist. ad Philip. § 5. Thus translated by Dr. Cave, in the *Life of St. Polycarp*, p. 127.

<sup>c</sup> *Probatī præsident seniores.* Apol. cap. 39, p. 709.

<sup>d</sup> *Vid. Cyprian. Epist. 38, et 39, pp. 90 et 92.*

7. Presbyters restored returning penitents to the church's peace. Thus we read in an epistle of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, that a certain offender called Serapion, approaching to the time of his dissolution, "sent for one of the presbyters to absolve him, which the presbyter did, according to the order of his bishop, who had before commanded that the presbyters should absolve those who were in danger of death."<sup>a</sup>

8. Presbyters confirmed, as we shall most evidently prove when we come to treat of confirmation: only remark here, by the way, that in the days of Cyprian there was a hot controversy whether those that were baptized by heretics, and came over to the catholic church, should be received as members thereof by baptism and confirmation, or by confirmation alone. Now I would fain know whether, during the vacancy of a see, or the bishop's absence, which sometimes might be very long, as Cyprian was absent two years, a presbyter could not admit a returning heretic to the peace and unity of the church, especially if we consider their positive damnation of all those that died out of the church? If the presbyters had not had this power of confirmation, many penitent souls must have been damned for the unavoidable default of a bishop, which is too cruel and unjust to imagine.

9. As for ordination, I find but little said of this in antiquity; yet, as little as there is, there are clearer proofs of the presbyters' ordaining than there are of their administering the Lord's supper. "All power and grace," saith Firmilian, "is constituted in the church, where seniors preside, who have the power of baptizing, confirming, and ordaining;"<sup>b</sup> or, as it may be rendered, and perhaps more

<sup>a</sup> Τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μοι τινὰ κάλεσον—ἐντολῆς δὲ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δεδομένης τοῖς ἀπαλλαττομένοις τοῦ βίου ἀφιεσθαι. Ad Fabium Antioch. apud Euseb. lib. 6, cap. 44, p. 246.

<sup>b</sup> Omnis potestas et gratia in ecclesiâ constituta sit ubi president



agreeable to the sense of the place, "who had the power as of baptizing, so also of confirming and ordaining." What these seniors were will be best understood by a parallel place in Tertullian; for that place in Tertullian, and this in Firmilian, are usually cited to expound one another by most learned men, as by the most learned Dr. Cave,<sup>a</sup> and others. Now the passage in Tertullian is this: in the ecclesiastical courts "approved elders preside."<sup>b</sup> Now by these approved elders, bishops and presbyters must necessarily be understood, because Tertullian speaks here of the discipline exerted in one particular church or parish, in which there was but one bishop; and if only he had presided, then there could not have been elders, in the plural number; but there being many elders to make out their number, we must add the presbyters to the bishop, who also presided with him, as we shall more fully show in another place. Now the same that presided in church consistorics, the same also ordained; presbyters, as well as bishops, presided in church consistorics; therefore presbyters, as well as bishops, ordained. And as in those churches where there were presbyters, both they and the bishop presided together, so also they ordained together, both laying on their hands in ordination, as St. Timothy was ordained "by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery;"<sup>c</sup> that is, by the hands of the bishop and presbyters of that parish where he was ordained, as is the constant signification of the word presbytery in all the writings of the ancients. But,

10. Though as to every particular act of the bishop's office, it could not be proved particularly that a presbyter

majores natu, qui et baptizandi, et manum imponendi, et ordinandi possident potestatem. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75, § 6, p. 237.

<sup>a</sup> Primitive Christianity, part 3, cap. 5, p. 379.

<sup>b</sup> Probati præsentant seniores. Apol. cap. 39, p. 709.

<sup>c</sup> Μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου. 1 Tim. iv, 14.

did discharge them ; yet it would be sufficient, if we could prove that, in the general, a presbyter could, and did perform them all. Now that a presbyter could do so, and consequently by the bishop's permission did do so, will appear from the example of the great St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, who, being exiled from his church, writes a letter to the clergy thereof, wherein he exhorts and begs them " to discharge their own and his office too, that so nothing might be wanting either to discipline or diligence."<sup>a</sup> And much to the same effect he thus writes them in another letter : " Trusting therefore to your kindness and religion, which I have abundantly experienced, I exhort and command you by these letters, that in my stead you perform those offices which the ecclesiastical dispensation requires."<sup>b</sup> And in a letter written upon the same occasion, by the clergy of the church of Rome to the clergy of the church of Carthage, we find these words toward the beginning thereof : " And since it is incumbent upon us, who are as it were bishops, to keep the flock in the room of the pastor, if we shall be found negligent, it shall be said unto us, as it was said to our careless preceding bishops, in Ezekiel, xxxiv, 3, 4, ' That we looked not after that which was lost, we did not correct him that wandered, nor bound up him that was lame, but we did eat their milk, and were covered with their wool.'<sup>c</sup> So that the presbyters were

<sup>a</sup> *Fungamini illic et vestris partibus ac meis, ut nihil vel ad disciplinam, vel ad diligentiam desit.* Epist. 5, § 1, p. 15.

<sup>b</sup> *Fretus ergo et dilectione et religione vestra, quam satis novi, his literis et hortor, et mando, ut vos—vice mea fungamini circa gerenda ea, quæ administratio religiosa deposcit.* Epist. 6, § 2, p. 17.

<sup>c</sup> *Et cum incumbat nobis qui videmur præpositi esse, et vice pastore custodire gregem, si negligentes inveniamur, dicetur nobis quod et antecessoribus nostris dictum est, qui tam negligentes præpositi erant : quoniam perditum non requisivimus, et errantem non correximus, et claudum non colligavimus, et lac eorum edebamus, et lanis eorum operiebamur.* Apud Cyprian. Epist. 3, § 1, p. 11.

as it were bishops, that in the bishop's absence kept his flock, and in his stead performed all those ecclesiastical offices which were incumbent on him.

Now then, if the presbyters could supply the place of an absent bishop, and, in general, discharge all those offices to which a bishop had been obliged, if he had been present, it naturally follows that the presbyters could discharge every particular act and part thereof. If I should say, such a one has all the senses of a man, and yet also assert that he cannot see, I should be judged a self-contradictor in that assertion; for, in affirming that he had all the human senses, I also affirmed that he saw, because seeing is one of those senses: for whatsoever is affirmed of a universal, is affirmed of every one of its particulars. So when the fathers say, that the presbyters performed the whole office of the bishop, it naturally ensues that they confirmed, ordained, baptized, &c., because those are particulars of that universal.

But now, from the whole, we may collect a solid argument for the equality of presbyters with bishops, as to order; for if a presbyter did all a bishop did, what difference was there between them? A bishop preached, baptized, and confirmed—so did a presbyter. A bishop excommunicated, absolved, and ordained—so did a presbyter. Whatever a bishop did, the same did a presbyter: the particular acts of their office were the same; the only difference that was between them was in degree; but this proves there was none at all in order.

2. That bishops and presbyters were of the same order, appears also from hence, that originally they had one and the same name, each of them being indifferently called bishops or presbyters. Hence we read in the Sacred Writ of several bishops in one particular church, as the bishops of Ephesus,<sup>a</sup> and Philippi,<sup>b</sup> that is, the bishops

<sup>a</sup> Ἐπισκόπους. 20 Actor. v. 28.

<sup>b</sup> Ἐπισκόπους. 1. Phil. 1.

and presbyters of those churches, as they were afterward distinctly called. And Clemens Romanus sometimes mentions many bishops in the church of Corinth, whom at other times he calls by the name of presbyters, using those two terms as synonymous titles and appellations. "You have obeyed," saith he, "those that were set over you," τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ἡμῶν,<sup>a</sup> and, "Let us revere those that are set over us," προηγούμενους ἡμῶν,<sup>b</sup> which are the usual titles of the bishops, and yet these in another place he calls presbyters;<sup>c</sup> describing their office by their sitting or presiding over us.<sup>d</sup> Wherefore he commands the Corinthians "to be subject to their presbyters;"<sup>e</sup> and whom in one line he calls ἐπίσκοποι, or bishops,<sup>f</sup> the second line after he calls πρεσβύτεροι, or presbyters. So Polycarp exhorts the Philippians to be subject to their presbyters and deacons, under the name of presbyters, including both bishops and priests, as we now call them.

The first that expressed these church officers by the distinct terms of bishops and presbyters, was Ignatius, who lived in the beginning of the second century, appropriating the title of bishop, ἐπίσκοπος, or overseer, to that minister who was the more immediate overseer and governor of his parish; and that of πρεσβύτερος, elder or presbyter, to him who had no particular care and inspection of a parish, but was only an assistant or curate to a bishop that had; the word ἐπίσκοπος, or bishop, denoting a relation to a flock or cure, πρεσβύτερος, or presbyter, signifying only a power or an ability to take the charge of such a flock or cure; the former implying an actual discharge of the office, the latter a power so to do.

This distinction of titles, arising from the difference of their circumstances, which we find first mentioned in Ig-

<sup>a</sup> Epist. 1 ad Corinth. p. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Ibidem. p. 30.

<sup>c</sup> Πρεσβύτεροι. Ibid. 62. <sup>d</sup> Καθεσταμένων πρεσβυτέρων. Ibid. p. 69.

<sup>e</sup> Υποτάγητε τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις. Ibid. p. 73.

<sup>f</sup> Ibidem. p. 58.

natus, was generally followed by the succeeding fathers, who, for the most part, distinguish between bishops and presbyters; though sometimes, according to the primitive usage, they indifferently apply those terms to each of those persons.

Thus, on the one hand, the titles of presbyters are given unto bishops; as Irenæus, in his synodical epistle, twice calls Anicetus, Pius, Higynus, Telesphorus, and Xistus, bishops of Rome, *πρεσβύτεροι*, or presbyters.<sup>a</sup> And those "bishops who derived their succession immediately from the apostles," he calls "the presbyters in the church;"<sup>b</sup> and whom Clemens Alexandrinus in one line calls the bishop of a certain city not far from Ephesus, a few lines after he calls the presbyter.<sup>c</sup>

And on the other hand, the titles of bishops are ascribed to presbyters, as one of the discrete appellations of a bishop is pastor. Yet Cyprian also calls his presbyters "the pastors of the flock."<sup>d</sup> Another was that of president, or one set over the people. Yet Cyprian also calls his presbyters presidents, or set over the people.<sup>e</sup> The bishops were also called rectors, or rulers. So Origen calls the presbyters, "the governors of the people."<sup>f</sup> And we find both bishops and presbyters included under the common name of presidents, or prelates, by St. Cyprian, in this his exhortation to Pomponius: "And if all must observe the divine discipline, how much more must the presidents and deacons do it, who, by their conversation and manners, must yield a good example to others?"<sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 14, p. 193.

<sup>b</sup> Qui in ecclesiâ sunt presbyteri—qui cum episcopatus successionem, &c. lib. 4, cap. 43, p. 277.

<sup>c</sup> *Πρεσβύτερος*. Apud Euseb. lib. 5, cap. 24, p. 193.

<sup>d</sup> Pastores ovium. Epist. 11, § 1, p. 33.    <sup>e</sup> *Præpositi*. Ibidem.

<sup>f</sup> *Ἀρχοντες τοῦ λαοῦ*. Comment. in Matth. vol. 1, p. 246.

<sup>g</sup> Et cum omnes omnino disciplinam tenere oporteat, multò magis

Now if the same appellation of a thing be a good proof for the identity of its nature, then bishops and presbyters must be of the same order, because they had the same names and titles. Suppose it was disputed whether a parson and lecturer were of the same order, would not this sufficiently prove the affirmative: That though for some accidental respects they might be distinguished in their appellations, yet originally and frequently they were called by one and the same name? The same it is in this case: though, for some contingent and adventitious reasons, bishops and presbyters were discriminated in their titles, yet, originally, they were always, and afterward sometimes, called by one and the same appellation; and, therefore, we may justly deem them to be one and the same order.

But if this reason be not thought cogent enough, the third and last will, unquestionably, put all out of doubt, and most clearly evince the identity or sameness of bishops and presbyters, as to order; and that is, that it is expressly said by the ancients, that there were but two distinct ecclesiastical orders, viz., bishops and deacons, or presbyters and deacons; and if there were but these two, presbyters cannot be distinct from bishops, for then there would be three. Now that there were but two orders, viz., bishops and deacons, is plain from that golden ancient remain of Clemens Romanus, wherein he thus writes:—"In the country and cities where the apostles preached, they ordained their first converts for bishops and deacons over those who should believe. Nor were these orders new; for, for many ages past it was thus prophesied concerning bishops and deacons, 'I will appoint their bishops in righteousness, and their deacons in

*præpositos et diaconos curare hoc fas est, qui exemplum et documentum cæteris de conversatione et moribus suis præbeant. Epist. 62, § 2, p. 169.*

faith.'"<sup>a</sup> This place of Scripture which is here quoted is in Isa. lx, 7: "I will make thine officers peace, and thine exactors righteousness." Whether it is rightly applied is not my business to determine. That that I observe from hence is, that there were but two orders instituted by the apostles, viz., bishops and deacons, which Clemens supposes were prophetically promised long before: and this is yet more evidently asserted in another passage of the said Clemens a little after, where he says, that the "apostles foreknew, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that contention would arise about the name of episcopacy; and, therefore, being endued with a perfect foreknowledge, appointed the aforesaid officers, viz., bishops and deacons, and left the manner of their succession described, that so, when they died, other approved men might succeed them and perform their office."<sup>b</sup> So that there were only the two orders of bishops and deacons instituted by the apostles: and if they ordained but those two, I think no one had ever a commission to add a third, or to split one into two, as must be done if we separate the order of presbyters from the order of bishops. But that when the apostles appointed the order of bishops, presbyters were included therein, will manifestly appear from the induction of those fore-cited passages in Clemens's epistle, and his drift and design thereby, which was to appease and calm

<sup>a</sup> Κατὰ χώρας οὖν καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες καθίστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν καὶ τοῦτο οὐ καινῶς, ἐκ γὰρ δὴ πολλῶν χρόνων ἐγγράπτο περὶ ἐπισκόπων καὶ διακόνων, οὕτως γὰρ ποῦ λέγει ἡ γραφή, καταστήσω τοὺς ἐπισκόπους αὐτῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ τοὺς διακόνους αὐτῶν ἐν πίσει. *Epist.* 1 ad Corinth. p. 54.

<sup>b</sup> Ἀπόστολοι ἡμῶν ἔγνωσαν διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι ἐρὶς ἔσαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν πρόγνωσιν εἰληφότες τελείαν κατέστησαν τοὺς προειρημένους καὶ μεταφθ. ἐπινομήν δεδώκασιν, ὅπως ἐὰν κοιμηθῶσιν, διαδέξωνται ἕτεροι δεδοσ. μασμένοι ἄνδρες τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν. *Ibidem.* p. 57.

the schisms and factions of some unruly members in the church of Corinth, who designed to depose their presbyters. And that he might dissuade them from this violent and irregular action, among other arguments, he proposes to them that this was to thwart the design and will of God, who would that all should live orderly in their respective places, doing the duties of their own stations—not invading the offices and functions of others; and that for this end, that all occasions of disorderliness and confusion might be prevented, he had instituted diversity of offices in his church; appointing every man to his peculiar work, to which he was to apply himself without violently leaping into other men's places. And that, particularly, the apostles foreseeing, through the Holy Spirit, that contentious and unruly men would irregularly aspire to the episcopal office, by the deposition of their lawful presbyters; therefore, that such turbulent spirits might be repressed, or left inexcusable, they ordained bishops and deacons where they preached, and described the manner and qualifications of their successors who should come after them when they were dead and gone, and be revered and obeyed with the same respect and obedience as they before were; and that, therefore, they were to be condemned as perverters of the divine institution, and contemners of the apostolic authority, who dared to degrade their presbyters, who had received their episcopal authority in an immediate succession from those who were advanced to that dignity by the apostles themselves.

This was the true reason for which the fore quoted passages were spoken, which clearly evinces that presbyters were included under the title of bishops, or rather, that they were bishops; for to what end should Clemens exhort the schismatical Corinthians to obey their presbyters from the consideration of the apostles' ordination of bishops, if their presbyters had not been bishops?



But that the order of presbyters was the same with the order of bishops, will appear also from that place of Irenæus, where he exhorts us “to withdraw from those presbyters who serve their lusts, and having not the fear of God in their hearts, contemn others, and are lifted up with the dignity of their first session ; but to adhere to those who keep the doctrine of the apostles, and with their presbyterial order are inoffensive, and exemplary in sound doctrine, and a holy conversation, to the information and correction of others ; for such presbyters the church educates, and of whom the prophet saith, ‘I will give thee princes in peace, and bishops in righteousness.’”<sup>a</sup> Now that by these presbyters, bishops are meant, I need not take much pains to prove ; the precedent chapter positively asserts it ; the description of them in this quotation, by their enjoying the dignity of the first session, and the application of that text of Isaiah unto them, clearly evince it. No one can deny but that there were bishops, that is, that they were superior in degree to other presbyters ; or, as Irenæus styles it, “honoured with the first session ;” but yet he also says, that they were not different in order, being of the presbyterial order, which includes both bishops and presbyters.

To this testimony of Irenæus I shall subjoin that of Clemens Alexandrinus, who, though he mentions “the processes of bishops, presbyters, and deacons,”<sup>b</sup> from

<sup>a</sup> Presbyteri qui serviunt suis voluptatibus et non præponunt timorem Dei in cordibus suis, sed centumeliis agunt reliquos, et principalis sessionis tumore elati sunt——ab omnibus igitur talibus abesse oportet, adherere vero his, qui et apostolorum, sicut prædiximus, doctrinam custodiunt, et cum presbyterii ordine sermonem sanum, et conversationem sine offensâ præstant, ad informationem et correctionem reliquorum——Tales presbyteros nutrit ecclesia, de quibus et propheta ait : Et dabo principes tuos in pace, et episcopos tuos in justitia. Lib. 4, cap. 44, p. 278.

<sup>b</sup> Ἐπεὶ καὶ αἱ ἐνταῦθα κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν προκοπαὶ ἐπισκόπων, πρεσβυτέρων, διακόνων, μυστήματα οἶμαι ἀγγελικῆς δόξης, κἀκαίνης τῆς

which some conclude the bishop's superiority of order; yet the subsequent words evidently declare, that it must be meant only of degree, and that, as to order, they were one and the same; for he immediately adds, that "those offices are an imitation of the angelic glory, and of that dispensation which, as the Scriptures say, they wait for, who, treading in the steps of the apostles, live in the perfection of evangelical righteousness; for these, the apostle writes, shall be took up into the clouds, (here he alludes to the manner of the saints' glorification in 1 Thess. iv, 17, 'Then we which are alive, and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air, and so shall we ever be with the Lord,') and there first, as deacons attend, and then, according to the process, or next station of glory, be admitted into the presbytery; for glory differs from glory, till they increase to a perfect man." Now in this passage there are two things which manifest that there were but two ecclesiastical orders, viz., bishops and deacons, or presbyters and deacons; the first is, that he says that those orders were resembled by the angelic orders. Now the Scripture mentions but two orders of angels, viz., archangels and angels, the archangels presiding over the angels, and the angels obeying and attending on the archangels. According to this resemblance, therefore, there must be but two ecclesiastical orders in the church, which are, bishops or presbyters presiding and governing, with the deacons attending and obeying. The other part of this passage, which proves but two ecclesiastical orders, is his likening

*οἰκονομίας τυγχάνουσιν ἣν ἀναμένειν φασὶν αἱ γραφαὶ τοὺς κατ' ἰχνοῦ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν τελειώσει δικαιοσύνης καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον βεβιωκότας, ἐν νεφέλαις τέτθς ἀρθέντας γράφει ὁ ἀπόστολος διακονήσιν κατὰ πρῶτα, ἔπειτα ἐγκαταταγῆναι τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ κατὰ προκοπὴν δόξης, δόξα γὰρ δόξης διαφέρει ἄχρις ἂν εἰς τέλειον ἄνδρα αὐξήσωσιν.* Strom. lib. 64, p. 401.

of them to the progressive glory of the saints, who at the judgment day shall be caught up in the clouds, and there shall first as deacons attend and wait on Christ's judgment seat; and then, when the judgment is over, shall have their glory perfected in being placed on the celestial thrones of that sublime presbytery, where they shall for ever be blest and happy.

So that there were only the two orders of deacons and presbyters, the former whereof, being the inferior order, never sat at their ecclesiastical conventions, but, like servants, stood and waited on the latter,<sup>a</sup> who sat down on *θρόνοι*,<sup>b</sup> or seats in the form of a semicircle, whence they are frequently called *concessus presbyterii*, or the session of the presbytery, in which session he that was more peculiarly the bishop or minister of the parish sat at the head of the semicircle, on a seat somewhat elevated above those of his colleagues,<sup>c</sup> as Cyprian calls them, and so was distinguished from them by his priority in the same order, but not by his being of another order. Thus the fore-said Clemens Alexandrinus distinguishes the bishop from the presbyters by his being advanced to the *πρωτοκαθέδρια*, or the first seat in the presbytery, not by his sitting in a different seat from them: for thus he writes, "He is in truth a presbyter of the church, and a minister of the will of God, who does and teaches the things of the Lord, not ordained by men, or esteemed just, because a presbyter; but, because just, therefore received into the presbytery: who, although he be not honoured with the first seat on earth, yet shall hereafter sit down on the twenty and four thrones mentioned in the Revelation, judging the peo-

<sup>a</sup> Videt et ordinationes, sive stationes ministrorum ejus, diaconorum, ut mihi videtur, ordinem memorat astantium divino ministerio. Homil. 2 in Cantic. Cantic. Origen.

<sup>b</sup> Nobiscum sedeat in Clero. Cyprian. Epist. 35, p. 84.

<sup>c</sup> Collegis meis. Epist. 28, § 2, p. 64.

ple.”<sup>a</sup> . So that both bishops and presbyters were members of the same presbytery, only the bishop was advanced to the first and chiefest seat therein, which is the very same with what I come now from proving, viz., that bishops and presbyters were equal in order, but different in degree ; that the former were the ministers of their respective parishes, and the latter their curates or assistants.

Whether this hath been fully proved, or whether the precedent quotations do naturally conclude the premises, the learned reader will easily determine. I am not conscious that I have stretched any words beyond their natural signification, having deduced from them nothing but what they fairly imported : if I am mistaken, I hope I shall be pardoned, since I did it not designedly or voluntarily. As before, so now I profess again, that if any one shall be so kind and obliging to give me better information, I shall thankfully and willingly acknowledge and quit my error ; but till that information be given, and the falsity of my present opinion be evinced, (which, after the impartiallest and narrowest inquiry I see not how it can be done,) I hope no one will be offended that I have asserted the equality or identity of the bishops and presbyters as to order, and their difference only as to pre-eminency or degree.

§ 4. Now from this notion of presbyters, there evidently results the reason why there were many of them in one church, even for the same intent and end, though more necessary and needful, that curates are now to those ministers and incumbents whom they serve. It was found

<sup>a</sup> Οὗτος πρεσβύτερος ἐστὶ τῷ ὄντι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ διακόνος ἀληθῆς τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ βουλήσεως, ἐὰν ποιῇ καὶ διδάσκῃ τὰ τοῦ κυριοῦ, οὐχ’ ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων χειροτονούμενος, οὐδ’ ὅτι πρεσβύτερος, δίκαιος νομιζόμενος, ἀλλ’ ὅτι δίκαιος ἐν πρεσβυτερίῳ καταλεγόμενος, κὰν ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ γῆς πρωτοκαθεδρία μὴ τιμηθῇ, ἐν τοῖς εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαροις καθεδεῖται θρόνους τὸν λαὸν κρίνων, ὡς φησὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει Ἰωάννης. *Stromat. lib. 6, p. 400.*

by experience, that variety of accidents and circumstances did frequently occur, both in times of peace and persecution, the particulars whereof would be needless to enumerate, that disabled the bishops from attending on, and discharging their pastoral office ; therefore that such vacancies might be supplied, and such inconveniences remedied, they entertained presbyters or curates, who, during their absence, might supply their places, who also were helpful to them, whilst they were present with their flocks, to counsel and advise them : whence Bishop Cyprian assures us that he did all things by the “ common counsel” of his presbyters.\*

Besides this, in those early days of Christianity churches were in most places thin, and at a great distance from one another ; so that if a bishop by any disaster was incapacitated for the discharge of his function, it would be very difficult to get a neighbouring bishop to assist him. To which we may also add, that in those times there were no public schools or universities, except we say the catechetical lecture at Alexandria was one, for the breeding of young ministers, who might succeed the bishops as they died ; wherefore the bishops of every church took care to instruct and elevate some young men, who might be prepared to come in their place when they were dead and gone. And thus for these and the like reasons most churches were furnished with a competent number of presbyters, who helped the bishops while living, and were fit to succeed them when dead.

§ 5. I say only, most churches were furnished with presbyters, because all were not, especially those churches which were newly planted, where either the numbers or abilities of the believers were small and inconsiderable : neither indeed were presbyters essential to the constitu-

\* *Communi consilio.* Epist. 24, p. 55.

tion of a church: a church might be without them, as well as a parish can be without a curate now; it was sufficient that they had a bishop; a presbyter was only necessary for the easing of the bishop in his office, and to be qualified for the succeeding him in his place and dignity after his death. For, as Tertullian writes, "where there are no presbyters, the bishop alone administers the two sacraments of the Lord's supper and baptism."<sup>a</sup>

§ 6. As for the time when presbyters began, to me it seems plain that their office was even in the apostolic age, though by their names they were not distinguished from bishops till some time after. The first author now extant, who distinctly mentions bishops and presbyters, is Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, who lived in the beginning of the second century: but without doubt before his time, even in the days of the apostles, where churches increased or were somewhat large, there were more in holy orders than the bishops of those churches. We read in the New Testament of the bishop of Ephesus, Acts xx, 28; and of Philippi, Phil. i, 1; which must be understood of what was afterward distinctly called bishops and presbyters. So, likewise, we read in Timothy, 1 Tim. iv, 14, of a presbytery, which, in all the writings of the fathers, for any thing I can find to the contrary, perpetually signifies the bishop and presbyters of a particular church or parish. And to this we may add what Clemens Alexandrinus reports of St. John, that he went into the neighbouring provinces of Ephesus "partly that he might constitute bishops, partly that he might plant new churches, and partly that he might appoint such in the number of the clergy as should be commanded him by the Holy Ghost."<sup>b</sup> Where, by the word clergy being opposed to bishops, and

<sup>a</sup> Ubi ecclesiastici ordinis non est consessus, et offert, et tingit sacerdos, qui est ibi solus. Exhort. ad Castitat. p. 457.

<sup>b</sup> Ὃπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων, ὅπου δὲ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἀρμύ-

so consequently different from them, must be understood either deacons alone, or, which is far more probable, presbyters and deacons.

## CHAPTER V.

§ 1. The order and office of the deacons. § 2. Subdeacons, what. § 3. Of acolyths, exorcists, and lectors; through those offices the bishops gradually ascended to their episcopal dignity. § 4. Of ordination. First, of deacons. § 5. Next, of presbyters: the candidates for that office presented themselves to the presbytery of the parish where they were ordained. § 6. By them examined about four qualifications, viz., their age. § 7. Their condition in the world. § 8. Their conversation. § 9. And their understanding. Human learning needful. § 10. Some inveighed against human learning, but condemned by Clemens Alexandrinus. § 11. Those that were to be ordained presbyters generally passed through the inferior offices. § 12. When to be ordained, propounded to the people for their attestation. § 13. Ordained in, but not to a particular church. § 14. Ordained by the imposition of the hands of the presbytery. § 15. The conclusion of the first particular, concerning the peculiar acts of the clergy.

§-1. NEXT to the presbyters were the deacons, concerning whose office and order I shall say very little, since there is no great controversy about it: and had it not been to have rendered this discourse complete and entire, I should in silence have passed it over. Briefly, therefore, their original institution, as in Acts vi, 2, was to serve tables, which included these two things,—a looking after the poor, and an attendance at the Lord's table. As for the care of the poor, Origen tells us that “the deacons

*ων, οπου δὲ κλήρω ἔναγε τινα κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος σπαινομένων.* Apud Euseb. lib. 3, cap. 23, p. 92.

dispensed to them the church's money,"<sup>a</sup> being employed under the bishop to inspect and relieve all the indigent within their diocess: as for their attendance at the Lord's table, their office with respect to that consisted in preparing the bread and wine, in cleansing the sacramental cups, and other such like necessary things; whence they are called by Ignatius "deacons of meats and cups,"<sup>b</sup> assisting also, in some places at least, the bishops or presbyters in the celebration of the eucharist, "delivering the elements to the communicants."<sup>c</sup> They also preached, of which more in another place; and, in the "absence of the bishop and presbyters, baptized."<sup>d</sup> In a word, according to the signification of their name, they were, as Ignatius calls them, "the church's servants,"<sup>e</sup> set apart on purpose to serve God, and attend on their business, being constituted, as Eusebius terms it, "for the service of the public."<sup>f</sup>

§ 2. Next to the deacons were the subdeacons, who are mentioned both by Cyprian<sup>g</sup> and Cornelius.<sup>h</sup> As the office of the presbyters was to assist and help the bishops, so theirs was to assist and help the deacons. And as the presbyters were of the same order with the bishop, so probably the subdeacons were of the same order with the deacons, which may be gathered from what we may suppose to have been the origin and rise of these subdeacons,

<sup>a</sup> Διάκονοι διοικούντες τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας χρήματα. Comment. in Mat. tom. 16, p. 443, vol. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Βρωμάτων καὶ ποτῶν εἰσιν διάκονοι. Epist. ad Tralles. p. 48.

<sup>c</sup> Διάκονοι διδόντες ἐκάσῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστήθεντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου. Just. Martyr. Apolog. 2, p. 97.

<sup>d</sup> Baptismus dandi habet jus episcopus dehinc presbyteri et diaconi. Tertul. de Bapt. p. 602.

<sup>e</sup> Ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ ὑπηρεταί. Epist. ad Tralles. p. 48.

<sup>f</sup> Ὑπερησίας τοῦ κοινοῦ. Lib. 2, cap. 1, p. 38.

<sup>g</sup> Hypodiatonum optatum. Epist. 24, p. 55.

<sup>h</sup> Ὑποδιακόνους ἐπὶ τὰ. Apud Euseb. lib. 6, cap. 43, p. 244.



which might be this : that in no church whatsoever was it usual to have more than seven deacons, because that was the original number instituted by the apostles : wherefore, when any church grew so great and numerous that this stinted number of deacons was not sufficient to discharge their necessary ministrations, that they might not seem to swerve from the apostolical example, they added assistants to the deacons, whom they called subdeacons or under-deacons, who were employed by the head or chief deacons, to do those services, in their stead and room, to which, by their office, they were obliged. But whether this be a sufficient argument to prove subdeacons to be of the same order with the deacons, I shall not determine, because, this office being now antiquated, it is not very pertinent to my design : I only offer it to the consideration of the learned who have will and ability to search into it.

§ 3. Besides those forementioned orders, who were immediately consecrated to the service of God, and by him commissioned thereunto, there were another sort of ecclesiastics, who were employed about the meaner offices of the church, such as acolyths,<sup>a</sup> exorcists,<sup>b</sup> and lectors,<sup>c</sup> whose offices, because they are now disused, except that of the lector, I shall pass over in silence, reserving a discourse of the lector for another place ; only, in general, these were candidates for the ministry, who, by the due discharge of these meaner employs, were to give proof of their ability and integrity, the bishops in those days not usually arriving, *per saltum*, to that dignity and honour ; but commonly beginning with the most inferior office, and so gradually proceeding through the others till they came to the supreme office of all, as Cornelius, bishop of Rome,

<sup>a</sup> Naricum acoluthum. Cyprian. Epist. 36, p. 87.

<sup>b</sup> Unus de exorcistis vir probatus. Firmil. apud Cyprian. Epist. 75, § 10, p. 238.

<sup>c</sup> Hos lectores constitutos. Cyprian. Epist. 34, § 4, p. 81.

“did not presently leap into the episcopal throne, but first passed through all the ecclesiastical offices, gradually ascending to that sublime dignity;”<sup>a</sup> the church, in those happy days, by such a long trial and experience, using all possible precaution and exactness, that none but fit and qualified men should be admitted into those sacred functions and orders, which were attended with so dreadful and tremendous a charge. And this now brings me, in the next place, to inquire into the manner and form of the primitive ordinations, which I choose to discourse of in this place, since I shall find none more proper for it throughout this whole treatise.

§ 4. As for the various senses and acceptations which may be put on the word ordination, I shall not at all meddle with them; that ordination that I shall speak of is this, the grant of a peculiar commission and power, which remains indelible in the person to whom it is committed, and can never be obliterated or rased out, except the person himself cause it by his heresy, apostacy, or most extremely gross and scandalous impiety. Now this sort of ordination was conferred only upon deacons and presbyters, or on deacons and bishops, presbyters and bishops being here to be considered as all one, as ministers of the church universal. As for the ordination of deacons, there is no great dispute about that, so I shall say no more concerning it, than that we have the manner thereof at their first institution in Acts vi, 6, which was, that they were ordained to their office by prayer and imposition of hands.

§ 5. But as for the ordination of presbyters, I shall more distinctly and largely treat of the manner and form thereof, which seems to be as follows :

Whosoever desired to be admitted into this sacred office,

<sup>a</sup> Non iste ad episcopatum subito pervenit, per omnia ecclesiastica officia promotus—ad sacerdotii sublime fastigium cunctis religionis gradibus ascendit. Cyprian. Epist. 52, § 4, p. 115.

he first proposed himself to the presbytery of the parish where he dwelt and was to be ordained, desiring their consent to his designed intention, praying them to confer upon him those holy orders which he craved. Now we may suppose his petition was to the whole presbytery, because a bishop alone could not give those holy orders, as is most evident from Cyprian, who assures us that "all clerical ordinations were performed by the common counsel of the whole presbytery."<sup>a</sup> And therefore, when, upon a "most urgent and necessary occasion,"<sup>b</sup> he had been forced to ordain one but a lector, without the advice and consent of his presbytery, which, one will be apt to think, was no great usurpation, he takes great pains (Epist. 24, p. 55) to justify and excuse himself for so doing.

§ 6. Upon this application of the candidate for the ministry, the presbytery took it into their consideration, debated his petition "in their common council,"<sup>c</sup> and proceeded to examine whether he had those endowments and qualifications which were requisite for that sacred office. What those gifts and qualifications were touching which he was examined, may be reduced to these four heads,—his age, his condition in the world, his conversation, and his understanding.

As for his age: it was necessary for him to have lived some time in the world, to have been of a ripe and mature age; for they ordained no novices, or young striplings: that was the practice of the heretics, whom Tertullian jeers and upbraids with ordaining "raw and inexperienced clerks."<sup>d</sup> But as for the orthodox, they took care to confer orders on none but on such as were well stricken in years; observing herein the apostolic canon in 1 Tim. iii. 6:

<sup>a</sup> Communi consilio omnium nostrum. Epist. 24, p. 55.

<sup>b</sup> Necesse fuit—necessitate urgente promotum est. Ibidem.

<sup>c</sup> Communi consilio. Epist. 24, apud Cyprian. p. 55.

<sup>d</sup> Nunc neophytos conlocant. De præscript. advers. Hæret. p. 89.

"Not a novice, lest, being lifted up with pride, he fall into the condemnation of the devil." But yet, if any young man was endued with extraordinary grace and ability, the fewness of his years was no obstacle to his promotion, that being superseded by the greatness of his merit; as we find in the case of Aurelius in Cyprian, who, though young in years,<sup>a</sup> yet for his eminent courage and excellency,<sup>b</sup> was graced with ecclesiastical orders; and such a one, I suppose, was the bishop of Magnesia in the times of Ignatius, which gave occasion to that exhortation to the people of that diocese, "not to despise their bishop's age, but to yield him all due respect and reverence."<sup>c</sup>

§ 7. As for his condition in the world, he was not to be entangled with any mundane affairs, but to be free from all secular employments, and at perfect liberty to apply himself wholly to the duties of his office and function. This also was founded on that other apostolic canon in 2 Tim. ii, 4: "No man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life, that he may please him who hath chosen him to be a soldier:" "Which words," saith Cyprian, "if spoken of all, how much more ought not they to be entangled with secular troubles and snares, who, being busied in divine and spiritual things, cannot leave the church to mind earthly and worldly actions! which religious ordination," as he goes on to write, "was emblemized by the Levites under the law; for when the land was divided, and possessions were given to eleven tribes, the Levites, who waited upon the temple and altar, and the sacred offices thereof, had no share in that division; but the others tilled the ground, whilst they only

<sup>a</sup> In annis adhuc novellus. Cyprian. Epist. 33, p. 76.

<sup>b</sup> Merebatur—clericæ ordinationis—gradus et incrementa—non de annis suis, sed de meritis æstimandus. Ibidem.

<sup>c</sup> Μὴ συγχρᾶσθαι τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἀλλὰ—πᾶσαν ἐντροπὴν αὐτῷ ἀπονέμειν. Ignat. Epist. ad Magnes. p. 31.

worshipped God, and received tenths of the others' increase for their food and sustenance; all which happened by the divine authority and dispensation, that they who waited on divine employments should not be withdrawn therefrom, or be forced either to think of, or to do, any secular affairs: which fashion," as he there continues to write, "is now observed by the clergy, that those who are promoted to clerical ordinations should not be impeded in their divine administrations, or encumbered with secular concerns and affairs, but as tenths, receiving subscriptions from the brethren, depart not from the altar and sacrifices, but night and day attend on spiritual and heavenly meditations."\* These words were spoken on the occasion of a certain bishop called Germinius Victor, who at his death made a certain presbyter, called Germinius Faustinus, trustee of his last will and testament, which trust Cyprian condemns as void and null, "because a synod had before decreed that no clergyman should be a trustee, for

\* *Nemo militans Deo obligat se molestiis sæcularibus, ut possit placere ei cui se probavit. Quod cum de omnibus dictum sit, quantò magis molestiis et laqueis sæcularibus obligari non debent, qui divinis rebus et spiritualibus occupati, ab ecclesia recedere, et ad terrenos et sæculares actus vacare non possunt, cujus ordinationis et religionis formam Levitæ priùs in lege tenuerunt, ut cum terram dividerent, et possessiones partirentur undecim tribus, Levitica tribus, quæ templo et altari, et ministeriis divinis vacabat, nihil de illa divisionis portione perciperet, sed aliis terram colentibus, illa tantum Deum coleret, et ad victum atque alimentum suum ab undecim tribubus, de fructibus qui nascebantur, decimas reciperet. Quod totum fiebat de auctoritate et dispositione divinâ, ut qui operationibus divinis insistebant, in nullâ re avocarentur, nec cogitare aut agere sæcularia cogerentur. Quæ nunc ratio et forma in clero tenetur, ut qui in ecclesia Domini ordinatione clerica promoventur, in nullo ab administratione divina avocentur, nec molestiis et negotiis sæcularibus alligentur, sed in honore sportulantium fratrum tanquam decimas ex fructibus accipientes, ab altari et sacrificiis non recedant, sed die ac nocte cœlestibus rebus et spiritualibus serviant.* Epist. 66, § 1, 2, p. 195.

this reason, because those who were in holy orders ought only to attend upon the altar and its sacrifices, and to give themselves wholly to prayer and supplication."<sup>a</sup> It was a blot in the heretics' ordinations, that they "ordained such as were involved in the world, and embarrassed with carnal and secular concerns."<sup>b</sup>

§ 8. As for the conversation of the party to be ordained, "he was to be humble and meek ;"<sup>c</sup> of an unspotted and exemplary life. So says Cyprian : "In all ordinations we ought to choose men of an unspotted integrity, who, worthily and holily offering up sacrifices to God, may be heard in those prayers which they make for the safety of their flock : for it is written, ' God'heareth not a sinner ; but if any one be a worshipper of him, and doeth his will, him he heareth.' "<sup>d</sup> Wherefore, before they were ordained, they were proposed to the people for their testimony and attestation of their holy life and conversation. But of this we shall speak more in another place ; only it may not be improper to remember here, that this is also an apostolic canon, in 1 Tim. iii, 2, 3, 7 : " A bishop then must be blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach ; not given to wine, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre ; but patient, not a

<sup>a</sup> Cum jampridem in consilio episcoporum statutum sit, ne quis de clericis et dei ministris tutorem vel curatorem testamento suo constituat, quando singuli divino sacerdotio honorati, et in clerico ministerio constituti, non nisi altari et sacrificiis deservire, et precibus atque orationibus vacare debeant. Epist. 66, § 1, 2, p. 195.

<sup>b</sup> Nunc sæculo obstrictos collocant. Tertul. de Præscript. advers. Hæret. p. 89.

<sup>c</sup> Humiles et mites. Cyprian. Epist. 38, § 1, p. 90.

<sup>d</sup> In ordinationibus sacerdotum non nisi immaculatos et integros antistites eligere debemus, qui sanctè et dignè sacrificia Deo offerentes, audiri in precibus possint, quas faciunt pro plebis dominicæ incolumitate, cum scriptum sit, Deus peccatorem non audit, sed si quis Deum coluerit, et voluntatem ejus fecerit, illum audit. Epist. 68, § 2, p. 201

brawler, not covetous. Moreover, he must have a good report of them which are without; lest he fall into reproach and the snare of the devil."

§ 9. As for the understanding of the person to be ordained, he was to be of a good capacity, fit and able duly to teach others. This is also another of the apostolic canons in 2 Tim. ii, 15: "Study to show thyself approved unto God—a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth." And in 1 Tim. iii, 2: "A bishop must be apt to teach;" which implies an ability of teaching, and a capacity of rightly understanding, apprehending, and applying the word of God; to which end human learning was so conducive, as that Origen pleads not only for its usefulness, but also for its necessity; especially for that part of it which we call logic, to find out the true sense and meaning of the Scripture, as appears from this following digression which he makes concerning it in one of his commentaries: "How is it possible," saith he, "that a question either in ethics, physics, or divinity, should be understood as it ought, without logic? You shall hear no absurdity from those who are skilled in logic, and diligently search out the signification of words; whereas many times, through our ignorance in logic, we greatly err, not distinguishing homonymies, amphibolies; the different usages, properties, and distinctions of words, as some, from the ignorance of the homonymy of the word *world*, have fell into wicked opinions touching its Maker; not discerning what that signifies in 1 John v, 19, 'The world lies in wickedness;' where they, understanding by the *world*, the frame of heaven and earth, and all creatures therein, blaspheme the Creator thereof by affirming, that the sun, moon, and stars, which move in so exact an order, lie in wickedness. So also, through the same ignorance, they know not the true sense of that text in John i, 29, 'This is the Lamb of God which taketh away

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he sin of the world.' Neither of that in 2 Cor. v, 19, God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself.' Wherefore, if we would not err about the true sense of the Holy Scripture, it is necessary that we understand logic ;"<sup>a</sup> which art of logic,<sup>b</sup> the aforesaid father thinks, is recommended to us by Solomon in Prov. x, 17: "He that refuseth reproof [or logic, as he rendereth it] erreth."

Clemens Alexandrinus also stifiy asserts the utility of human learning, where he says, "that it is profitable to Christianity, for the clear and distinct demonstrations of its doctrine,<sup>c</sup> in that it helps us to the more evident understanding of the truth."<sup>d</sup> And, in particular for logic, he

<sup>a</sup> Εἰ δύναται ἡθικὸν πρόβλημα, ἢ φυσιλογούμενον ἢ θεολογούμενον γῶρις ἀκριβεῖται σηματομένων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν λογικὸν τόπον τρανομένων ὃν δεῖ τροπὴν παρίσασθαι· τί γὰρ ὑποπὸν ἀκουεῖν τῶν κυριολεκτρεμένων, ἐν ταῖς διαλέκτοις καὶ ἐφιστάνειν ἐπιμελῶς τοῖς σηματομένοις; ἐς γὰρ ὅπου παρὰ τὴν ἀγνοίαν τῶν λογικῶν μεγάλως περιπίπτουσι μὴ καθαίροντες τὰς ὁμωνυμίας καὶ ἁμφιβολίας, καὶ καταχρήσεις, καὶ κυριολεξίας, καὶ διασολὰς· διὸν παρὰ τὸ ἀγνοεῖσθαι τὸν ὁμωνυμον τῆς κόσμου προσηγορίας φωνῇ ἐκπεπτωκάσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀσεβέστατα φρονεῖν περὶ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ οἱ μὴ καθάραντες ἐπὶ τίνων κεῖται τὸ, ὁ κόσμος ἐν τῷ πονηρῷ κεῖται, ὅτι ἀντὶ τῶν περιγείων καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων τοῦτο οὕτως ἐκεῖ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ εἴρηται, οἰηθέντες γὰρ κόσμον κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν λέξιν σημαίνεσθαι τὸ σύστημα τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς θρασύτατα καὶ ἀνοσιώτατα ὑποφαίνονται περὶ Θεοῦ μηδαμῶς ἐργῷ δεικνύναι θυνάμενοι πῶς ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ ἄστρες τὰ οὕτω τεταγμένα κινούμενα κεῖται ἐν τῷ πονηρῷ· εἰτα ἐὰν προσάγωμεν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ οὗτος ἔστιν ὁ ἄνδρς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ αἶρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κοσμοῦ——πάλιν τε Θεὸς ἦν ἐν Χριστῷ κόσμον καταλλάσσωσαν ἑαυτῶ· ὅτι καὶ κατ' ἡμῶς τοὺς θέλοντας μὴ σφάλαισθαι περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν τῷ νοεῖν τὰς θείας γραφὰς ἀναγκαῖα ἐστὶ τὰ πίπτοντα εἰς τὴν χρῆσιν εἶδεναι λογικά. Gom. 1, Comm. in Genes. pp. 16, 17, vol. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Προτρέπει καὶ ὁ θεῖος λόγος ἡμῶς ἐπὶ διαλεκτικὴν, ὅπου μὲν Σολομῶντος λέγοντος, Παιδεία δὲ ἀνεξέλεγκτος. Contra Celsum. lib. 3, p. 279.

<sup>c</sup> Φιλοσοφία χρησίμη πρὸς θεοσέβειαν γίνεται προπαιδεία τις οὖσα τοῖς τὴν πίσιν δι' ἀποδείξεως καρπομμένοις. Strom. lib. 1, p. 207.

<sup>d</sup> Φιλοσοφία πρὸς κατάληψιν τῆς ἀληθείας. Ibidem. p. 233.



gives it high encomiums, as that "it is a hedge to defend the truth from being trod down by sophisters;"<sup>a</sup> that "it gives us great light duly to understand the Holy Scriptures;"<sup>b</sup> that "it is necessary to confute the sophisms of heretics."<sup>c</sup> And, in general, for all sorts of learning he tells us, that "it keeps the way of life, that we be not deceived or circumvented by those that endeavour to draw us into the way of sin."<sup>d</sup> So that he thinks philosophy and the liberal arts "came down from heaven unto men."<sup>e</sup> But should I produce all the passages, in this father, concerning the utility and excellency of human learning, I must transcribe several pages in folio; which, if the reader has a curiosity to view, he may especially take notice of these places, *Stromat. lib. 1, pp. 209–215; and Stromat. lib. 6, pp. 471–477.*

§ 10. It is true, there were some in those days of whom Clemens Alexandrinus complains, "who dreaded philosophy, lest it should deceive them, as much as children did hobgoblins;"<sup>f</sup> because they saw, by too lamentable experience, that many learned men's brains were so charmed or intoxicated with philosophical notions, as that they laboured to transform them into Christian verities, and so thereby became authors of most pestilent and damnable heresies, which is particularly observed by Tertullian

<sup>a</sup> Θριγκὸς γὰρ ἐστὶ διαλεκτικὴ ὡς μὴ καταπατεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν σοφιστῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. *Stromat. lib. 6, p. 472.*

<sup>b</sup> Ταῖς γραφαῖς αὐταῖς μέγα φῶς ἐντίκει τὰς ψυχαῖς. *Ibidem.*

<sup>c</sup> Ἡ διαλεκτικὴ συνέργει πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὑποπιπτειν ταῖς κατατρεχούσαις αἰρέσεσιν. *Stromat. lib. 1, p. 234.*

<sup>d</sup> Ὅδοις δὲ ζωῆς φυλάσσει παιδεία ὡς μὴ ὑπατηθῆναι, ὡς μὴ κλαπῆναι πρὸς τῶν ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τῶν ὑκρωμένων κακοτεχνίαν ἡσκηκότων. *Ibid. p. 210.*

<sup>e</sup> Θεοθεν ἦκειν εἰς ἀνθρώπους. *Stromat. lib. 1, p. 210.*

<sup>f</sup> Πολλοὶ δὲ καθάπερ οἱ παῖδες τὰ μορμολύκια, οὕτως δεδίασι τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν φιλοσοφίαν φοβούμενοι μὴ ὑπαγάγῃ αὐτοὺς. *Stromat. lib. 6, p. 472.*

with respect to the heretics of his time, who, on this account, calls "the philosophers the patriarchs of heretics."<sup>a</sup> Therefore they accused philosophy itself, as "the production of some evil inventor, introduced into the world for the ruin and destruction of mankind."<sup>b</sup> Even Tertullian himself, for this reason, had an extreme pique against philosophy, and violently decried it, especially logic, as inconsistent with true Christianity; as may be seen at large in his book, "De Præscriptione adversus Hæreticos," pp. 70, 71.

But to this objection Clemens Alexandrinus replies, that if any man had been deceived and misled by philosophy, "that that proceeded not from philosophy, but from the wickedness of his nature; for whosoever has wisdom enough to use it, he is able thereby to make a larger and a more demonstrative defence of the faith than others."<sup>c</sup> And concerning logic in particular, he tells them, that as for eristic, jangling logic, for impertinent and contentious sophisms, which he elegantly calls τὰς σκίας τῶν λόγων—"the shadows of reason,"<sup>d</sup> he disliked it as much as they, and frequently inveighs against it.<sup>e</sup> But as for the solid, substantial part of it, he could not but deem it profitable and advantageous, since "it helps us to find out the truth,"<sup>f</sup> "enables us the better to understand the Scrip-

<sup>a</sup> Hæreticorum patriarchæ philosophi. Advers. Hermog. p. 266.

<sup>b</sup> Οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς κακοῦ ἂν τὴν φιλοσοφίαν εἰσδεδοκέναι τὸν βίον νομίζουσιν ἐπὶ λύμῃ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τίνος εὐρετοῦ πονηροῦ. Clem. Alexan. Strom. lib. 4, p. 204.

<sup>c</sup> Μῆτε τὴν φιλοσοφίαν λυμαίνεσθαι τὸν βίον, ψευδῶν πραγμάτων καὶ φαυλῶν ἔργων δημιουργοῦν ὑπάρχουσιν περιβολῇ πλείονι χρωμένους ἀμνηγήῃ συγγυμνασίαν τινὲ πεισεως ἀποδεικτικὴν ἐκποριζέσθαι. Strom. lib. 1, p. 204.

<sup>d</sup> Stromat. lib. 6, p. 500.

<sup>e</sup> Stromat. lib. 1, pp. 205, 211, 212, 215: and lib. 6, pp. 472, 500.

<sup>f</sup> Συλλαμβάνεται φιλοσοφία τῇ πρὸς τὴν ἀληθειαν εὐρέσει. Strom. lib. 1, p. 233.

tures,"<sup>a</sup> and "shows us how to refel the sophisms and cunning arguments of the heretics."<sup>b</sup>

But, besides this sort of objectors, there were others, of whom Clemens Alexandrinus speaks, who condemned learning on this account, because it was "human,"<sup>c</sup> unto whom that father answers, that "it was most unreasonable that philosophy only should be contemned on this account, and that the meanest arts besides, even those of a smith and shipwright, which are as much human, should be commended and approved;"<sup>d</sup> that "they did not rest here, and go no farther; but, having got what was useful and profitable from it, they ascended higher unto the true philosophy,"<sup>e</sup> "making this human philosophy a guide unto, or a preparatory for, the true philosophy."<sup>f</sup>

These were the sentiments of this learned father touching the utility and excellency of human learning, with respect to the interpretation of Scripture, the finding out and the defending of the true faith and doctrine, and such like things, which were the very heart and soul of the presbyters' function and employ; from whence we may rationally collect that it was needful, amiable, and profitable in a presbyter. I do not say that it was absolutely necessary, for it is apparent that a great part of the ancient presbyters were not skilled in it; but I say that it

<sup>a</sup> Ταῖς γραφαῖς αὐταῖς μέγα φῶς ἐντίκει ταις ψυχαῖς. Stromat. lib. 6, p. 472.

<sup>b</sup> Ἡ διαλεκτικὴ συνεργεῖ πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὑποπίπτειν ταῖς καταρεχόσαις αἰρέσεσιν. Stromat. lib. 1, p. 234.

<sup>c</sup> Ἀνθρωπίνην σύνεσιν. Stromat. lib. 6, p. 476.

<sup>d</sup> Πῶς οὐκ ἄλογον τεκτονικῆς καὶ ναυπηγικῆς χεῖρον νομίζειν φιλοσοφίαν. Ibidem. p. 476.

<sup>e</sup> Οὐδαμῶς τούτοις ἐν διατριπτεον ἄλλ' ἢ εἰς μόνον τὸ ἀπ' αὐτῶν χρήσιμον ὥς λαβόντας τοῦτο καὶ κτησαμένους ἀπείναι οἰκαδε δύνασθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀληθῆ φιλοσοφίαν. Ibidem. p. 475.

<sup>f</sup> Προπαρασκευάζει τοίνυν ἡ φιλοσοφία προοδοποιῶσα τὸν ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ τελειούμενον. Stromat. lib. 1, p. 207.

was very useful and advantageous, and they prized and esteemed those presbyters who were versed in it, especially those of them who were arch-presbyters, or bishops, who, if possible, were to be well read in those parts of learning, which were proper to confirm the articles of Christianity, and to confute the enemies thereof. This is plainly insinuated by Origen, when he says, "that the Holy Scripture exhorts us to learn logic in that place where it is said by Solomon, 'He that refuseth reproof,' or logic, as he understandeth it, 'erreth;' and that therefore he that instructeth others," (the Greek word more particularly denotes the bishop,) "ought to be able to convince gainsayers."<sup>a</sup>

§ 11. Upon this examination of the candidates for the ministry, and their approbation by the presbytery, the next thing that followed was their being declared capable of their desired function, to which they were very seldom presently advanced, but first gave a specimen of their abilities in their discharge of other inferior ecclesiastic offices, and so proceeded by degrees to the supreme function of all, as Cornelius, bishop of Rome, "did not presently leap into his office, but passing through all the ecclesiastical employments, gradually ascended thereunto."<sup>b</sup> And as Aurelius, a member of the church of Carthage, "began first with the lowermost office of a lector, though by his extraordinary merits he deserved those that were more sublime and honourable."<sup>c</sup>

§ 12. That this was their constant and unalterable

<sup>a</sup> Προτρέπει καὶ ὁ θεῖος λόγος ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ διαλεκτικὴν, ὅπου μὲν Σολομῶντος λέγοντος παιδεία δὲ ἀνεξέλεγκτος—ὅτι δεῖ τὸν προϊστάμενον τοῦ λόγου δυνατὸν εἶναι τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας ἐλέγχειν. *Contra Celsum*, lib. 6, p. 279.

<sup>b</sup> Non iste ad episcopatum subito pervenit, per omnia ecclesiastica officia promotus—ad sacerdotii sublime fastigium cunctis religionis gradibus ascendit. *Cyprian. Epist. 52, § 4, p. 115.*

<sup>c</sup> Merebatur talis cloricæ ordinationis ultiores gradus et incrementa

practice I dare not affirm ; I rather think the contrary, as I might easily prove, were it pertinent to my design ; this that follows is more certain, that whether they were gradually or presently ordained presbyters, their names were published or propounded to the people of that church where they were to be ordained, that so, if worthy of that office, they might have the testimony and attestation of the people ; or if unworthy and unfit, they might be debarred and excluded from it, “ by which course the crimes of the wicked were discovered, the virtues of the good declared, and the ordination became valid and legitimate, being examined by the suffrage and judgment of all.”<sup>a</sup>

§ 13. If the people objected nothing against the persons proposed, but approved their fitness for that office, the next thing that followed was their actual ordination in that particular church where they were so propounded : not that they were only ordained for that particular church, but in it they were ordained ministers of the church universal, being at liberty either to serve that church where they received their orders, or, if they had a legal call, to spend their labours elsewhere, in other churches, as Origen was a presbyter of Alexandria, though he was “ ordained in Palestina, by the bishops of Cesarea and Jerusalem,”<sup>b</sup> and “ Numidicus was a presbyter of the church of Carthage, though he received his orders elsewhere.”<sup>c</sup> Hence the

majora, sed interim placuit ut ab officio lectionis incipiat. Idem. Epist. 33, p. 77.

<sup>a</sup> Ordinationes sacerdotales non nisi sub populi assistentis conscientia fieri oportere, ut plebe præsente vel detegantur malorum crimina, vel bonorum merita prædicentur, et sit ordinatio justa et legitima, quæ omnium suffragio et judicio fuerit examinata. Cyprian. Epist. 68, § 4, p. 201.

<sup>b</sup> Καισαρείας τε καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοποι χεῖρας εἰς πρεσβυτέριον αὐτῷ τεθεικασι. Euseb. lib. 6, cap. 8, p. 209.

<sup>c</sup> Numidicus presbyter adscribatur presbyterorum Carthagenensium numero. Cyprian. Epist. 35, p. 84.

presbyters of a church were not confined to a set number, as the bishops and deacons were, but were sometimes more, sometimes less: as fit persons for that office presented themselves, so were they ordained, some of whom still remained in the same church, where they received their orders; and others went and served other churches, every one going where the providence of God did call him.

§ 14. But now their formal ordination was by imposition of hands, usually of the bishop and presbyters of the parish where they were ordained: for this there needs no other proof than that injunction of St. Paul to Timothy, 1 Tim. iv, 14, "Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery."

As for imposition of hands, it was a ceremony that was variously used in the Old Testament, from whence it was translated into the New, and in the primitive church used on sundry occasions, to no purpose here to enumerate: one of those actions was, ordination of church officers, wherein, I think, it was never omitted. Thus Novatian was ordained a presbyter "by imposition of hands."<sup>a</sup> And the bishops of Cesarea and Jerusalem "imposed hands on Origen to make him a presbyter."<sup>b</sup> The imposition of hands being the completion of ordination, or the final act thereof: for whosoever had past through the foregoing examination and attestation, and consequently to that had received the laying on of hands, he was esteemed by all as legally ordained, and was ever after deemed to have sufficient power and authority to exert and discharge

<sup>a</sup> Κατηξιώθη τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου κατὰ χάριν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τοῦ ἐπισήματος αὐτῷ χειρὸς εἰς πρεσβυτερίου κλήρον. Cornel. apud Euseb. lib. 6, cap. 43, p. 245.

<sup>b</sup> Χειρὰς εἰς πρεσβυτέριον αὐτῷ τεθεικάσι. Apud Euseb. lib. 6, cap. 8, p. 209.

the duty and office of the presbytership, to which, by those actions, he was advanced and promoted.

§ 15. Here now I shall conclude what I designed to write, with respect to the first particular concerning the peculiar acts of the clergy, under which I have discoursed distinctly of the office, and order of bishops, priests, and deacons, as also of several other things relating to their charge and dignity. As for those other acts of theirs, which remain to be inquired into, I shall not meddle with them here; for though they may have some rapport or connection to this head, yet they more properly and immediately respect the third, unto which place therefore I shall refer their discussion and examination.

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## CHAPTER VI.

§ 1. The peculiar acts of the laity proposed to be discoursed of. What were the qualifications of church membership. § 2. The people, in some cases, had power to depose their bishops. § 3. The conjunct acts of the clergy and laity proposed to be discoursed of. All ecclesiastical affairs were managed by their joint endeavours.

§ 1. HAVING in the former chapters treated of the peculiar acts of the clergy, I come now in this to speak something to the peculiar acts of the laity, and to inquire into those actions and powers which they exerted distinctly by themselves. And here it may not be amiss, first of all, to make an inquiry into the constitution of the laity, that is, how and by what means they were at first admitted to be members of a church, by virtue of which membership they were made partakers of all those powers which we shall hereafter mention.

Now for answer hereunto, in general, "all those that were baptized were looked upon as members of the church,

and had a right to all the privileges thereof,"<sup>a</sup> except they had been guilty of gross and scandalous sins, as idolatry, murder, adultery, and such like; for then they were cast out of the church, and not admitted again till, by a penitent and holy deportment, they had testified their grief and sorrow for their unholy and irregular actions; for as Origen saith, "We do our utmost that our assemblies be composed of good and wise men."<sup>b</sup> So that "none who are admitted to our congregations and prayers are vicious and wicked, except very rarely it may happen that a particular bad man may be concealed in so great a number."<sup>c</sup>

But since the greatest part of Christians were adult persons at their conversion to Christianity, and admission into church fellowship and society, therefore we must consider the prerequisites of baptism, since that sacrament gave them a right and title to that admission or reception.

Now those persons who designed to leave heathenism and idolatry, and desired to be members of a Christian church, were not presently advanced to that degree, but were first continued a certain space of time in the rank of the catechumens, or the catechised ones: these were candidates of Christianity, who were to stay some time in that order for these two reasons: the one was, that they might be catechised and instructed in the articles of the Christian faith, from whence they were called catechumens: and the other was, "that they<sup>d</sup> might give demonstrations of

<sup>a</sup> Per baptismam Spiritus Sanctus accipitur, et sic à baptizatis et Spiritum Sanctum consecutis ad bibendum calicem Domini pervenitur. Cyprian. Epist. 63, § 5, p. 175.

<sup>b</sup> Ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὁση δύναμις πάντα πράττομεν ὑπὲρ τῶν φρονίμων ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι τὸν σὺλλογον ἡμῶν. Contra Celsum. lib. 3, p. 143.

<sup>c</sup> Οὐτέγε ἐν τοῖς συνεδρεῦουσιν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κοινὰς εὐχὰς ἐρχομένας εἰ μὴ ἄρα τις σπανίως λαμβάνων ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς εὐρίσκειτο τοιοῦτος. Origen contra Celsum. lib. 4, p. 178.

<sup>d</sup> Εἰσὶ τινες τεταγμένοι πρὸς τὸ φιλοπευθεῖν τοὺς βίους. Idem ibidem. p. 142.



the reality of their intentions by the change of their lives and holiness of their conversations."

Whilst they were in this state, or rather in a preparatory thereunto, "they were first privately instructed at home,"<sup>a</sup> till they understood the more intelligible principles of Christianity, and then they were admitted into the first rank of catechumens, who are called by Tertullian "edocti, or those that are taught."<sup>b</sup> These were permitted "to come into the church, where they stood in a place by themselves,"<sup>c</sup> and "were present at the sermons, which were adapted to their capacities, being discourses of the ordinary and less mysterious truths of the gospel."<sup>d</sup> If they behaved themselves well in this rank, then they were advanced to the "superior rank of the perfecti, or perfect,"<sup>e</sup> as Tertullian calls them, who stayed not only at the lessons and sermons, but also at the prayers, which were the conclusion of the first service, and in a little time were baptized, and tarried with the faithful at the celebration of the eucharist, or the second service.

This was the manner of admission amongst the ancients; none in those days were hastily advanced to the higher forms of Christianity, but according to their knowledge and merit gradually arrived thereunto, being first instructed at home, then admitted to the didactic part of the public service, and then to the supplicative part thereof. It was the wicked policy of the heretics "indifferently to pray and hear with all, making no difference between the

<sup>a</sup> Κατ' ἰδίαν αὐτοῖς προεπάσαντες. Idem ibidem. p. 142.

<sup>b</sup> De Præscript. advers. Hæret. p. 89.

<sup>c</sup> Τηνικαὶ αὐτοὺς εἰσάγουσιν, ἰδίᾳ μὲν ποιήσαντες ταγμα τῶν ἀπὸ ἀρχομένων καὶ εἰσαγομένων. Origen contra Celsum. lib. 3, p. 142.

<sup>d</sup> Παρασιωποῦμεν τὰ βαθύτερα τοὺς συνερχομένους καὶ θεωμένους λόγων προπικῶς ὀνομαζομένων γάλα. Idem ibidem. p. 143.

<sup>e</sup> Ἐπερον δὲ τὸ τῶν. Idem ibid. p. 142.

<sup>f</sup> De Præscript. advers. Hæret. p. 89.

faithful and the catechumens :”<sup>a</sup> but the true church distinguished, and permitted not the catechumens to enjoy the privileges of the faithful till they had, in a sense, merited them, which was when, through a considerable time of trial, they had evidenced the sincerity of their hearts by the sanctity and purity of their lives, and then, as Origen saith, “ We initiate them into our mysteries when they have made a proficiency in holiness, and according to the utmost of their power have reformed their conversations.”<sup>b</sup> When they had changed their manners, and rectified their irregular carriages ; then they were washed with the water of baptism, and not before ; for, as Tertullian saith, “ We are not baptized that we may cease to sin, but because we have already ceased.”<sup>c</sup>

As soon as they were baptized they commenced members of the church universal, and of that particular church wherein they were so baptized, and became actual sharers and exerters of all the privileges and powers of the faithful.

§ 2. Now what the distinct and separate powers of the faithful were, must be next considered ; several of them, to make the discourse under the former head complete, we touched there, as their election and choice of their bishops, their attestation to those that were ordained, and such like, which will be unnecessary and tedious to repeat here ; and others of them cannot be well separated from their conjunct acts with the clergy, but must, with them, be discoursed of in the next head, so that there will be little

<sup>a</sup> Quis catechumenus, quis fidelis incertum est ; pariter audiunt, pariter orant. Tert. de Præscript. advers. Hæret. p. 88.

<sup>b</sup> Ἐπὶ δὲ οἱ προκόπτοντες παρασχῶσι τὸ κεκαθάρθῃ ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου, καὶ ὁση δύναμις βέλτιον βεβιωκέναι τὸ τηνικάδε καλοῦμεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς παρ’ ἡμῖν τελετὰς. Contra Celsum. lib. 3, p. 174.

<sup>c</sup> Non ideo abluimur, ut delinquere desinamus, sed quia desinivimus. De Pœnitentia, p. 379.

or nothing to say here of their discreitive and particular acts, save that, as they had power to elect their bishops, so, if their bishops proved afterward scandalous and grossly wicked in life, or at least heretical in doctrine, and apostates from the faith, they had power to depose them, and to choose others in their rooms. This I must be forced also to mention in another place, so that for the proof of it I shall urge only the case of Martialis and Basilides, two Spanish bishops, who, for apostacy and idolatry, were deserted by their parishes, who elected Felix and Sabinus bishops in their steads. After this deposition Martialis and Basilides claimed the exercise of their episcopal authority, but their parishes denied it to them; and that they might not seem to act by a power which belonged not unto them, they sent to several bishops in Africa to know their judgment thereupon, who, being convened in a synod anno 258, whereof Cyprian was president, approved and commended their proceedings, assuring them "that it was according to the divine law, which was express, that none but those that were holy and blameless should approach God's altar; that if they had continued to have communicated with their profane bishops, they would have been accessaries to their guilt and villany, and would have contradicted those examples and commands in Scripture which oblige a people to separate from their wicked and ungodly ministers; that they had not acted irregularly in what they had done; since, as the people had the chief power of choosing worthy bishops, so also of refusing those that were unworthy:"\* and many other

\* *Desiderio vestro divina præcepta respondent quibus jampridem mandatur voce cœlesti, et Dei lege præscribitur, quos et quales oporteat deservire altari—in Levitico præcipit Dominus et dicit; homo, in quo fuerit macula et vitium non accedet offerre dona Deo—nec sibi plebs blandiatur quasi immunis esse à contagio delicti possit, cum sacerdote peccatore communicans—Propter quod plebs obsequens præceptis*

such like passages are to be found in that synodical epistle, which flatly assert the people's power to depose a wicked and scandalous bishop.

But however, though the people had such a power appertaining to them, yet, being subject to be guided by giddiness, envy, or pride, where churches were regularly associated, and their circumstances did permit it, they did not, by virtue of their power alone, upon their own single judgment, depose their bishop; but that their actions might be the more authentic and unquestionable, they had their complaints heard, and the whole affair examined by the synod to which they belonged, or by some other bishops, who, if their accusations were just and valid, might concur with them in the deposition of their bishop, and in the election of a new one: and from hence it is that we find the power of deposing bishops ascribed to synods, as Paulus Samosatenus, bishop of Antioch, was deprived by a synod held in that place,<sup>a</sup> and Privatus, bishop of Lambese, was deposed by a synod of ninety bishops.<sup>b</sup> The same method being observed in the deposition of a bishop as in his election. As a bishop was elected by the people over whom he was to preside, and by the neighbouring bishops, so was he deposed by the same; both which things seem to be intimated in that passage of the forementioned synodical epistle, wherein it is said, that "the people chiefly have power either to choose worthy bishops, or to refuse unworthy ones."<sup>c</sup> The word chiefly

*dominicis et Deum metuens, à peccatore præposito separare se debet, nec se ad sacrilegi sacerdotis sacrificia miscere; quando ipsa maxime habeat potestatem vel eligendi dignos sacerdotes vel indignos recusandi. Epist. 68 apud Cyprian. § 1, 3, 4, pp. 200, 201.*

<sup>a</sup> Apud Euseb. lib. 7, cap. 30, p. 282.

<sup>b</sup> Nonaginta episcoporum sententiâ condemnatum. Cyprian. Epist. 55, § 11, p. 140.

<sup>c</sup> Quando ipsa maximè habeat potestatem, vel eligendi dignos sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 68, § 4, p. 201.

implying, that, besides the people, some others were necessary to concur with them either in the election or deprivation of a bishop: and those were the neighbouring bishops, or, to speak more properly, that synod to which they appertained; of which synods, and of their power and authority, I shall discourse more largely elsewhere.

§ 3. Having thus briefly despatched the second head, I now proceed to handle the third, which respects the conjunct acts of the clergy and laity; in answer whereunto I find that, in general, all things relating to the government and policy of the church were performed by their joint consent and administrations; “the people were to do nothing without the bishop:”<sup>a</sup> and, on the contrary, “he did nothing without the knowledge and consent of his people.”<sup>b</sup> “When any letters came from foreign churches they were received and read before the whole church,”<sup>c</sup> and “the whole church agreed upon common letters to be sent to other churches.”<sup>d</sup> And so, for all other matters relating to the policy of the church, they were managed “by the common advice and counsel of the clergy and laity,”<sup>e</sup> both concurred to the discharge of those actions, to recite every particular act whereof would be extremely tedious and fruitless. Wherefore, in speaking hereunto, I shall confine myself to those of their complex acts that regarded the discipline of the church, which, being an answer to the second part of our inquiry, viz.,—An Inquiry into the Discipline of the Primitive Church—shall be the subject of the following chapter.

<sup>a</sup> *Ἀνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, μηδὲν πράσσειν ὑμᾶς.* Ignat. Epist. ad Tralles. p. 47.

<sup>b</sup> A primordio episcopatus mei statuerim, nihil sine consensu plebis meæ privata sententia gerere. Cyprian. Epist. 6, § 5, p. 17.

<sup>c</sup> Plebi legere te semper literas nostras. Cyp. Epist. 55, § 21, p. 144.

<sup>d</sup> Vicarias vero pro nobis, ego, et collegæ, et fraternitas omnis, has ad vos literas mittimus. Idem Epist. 58, § 2, p. 163.

<sup>e</sup> In commune tractabimus. Cyprian. Epist. 6, § 5, p. 17.

## CHAPTER VII.

§ 1. The necessity, quality, and excellency of discipline. Six things propounded to be handled. 1. For what faults offenders were censured. 2. Who were the judges that censured. 3. The manner of their censures. 4. What their censures were. 5. The course that offenders took to be absolved. 6. The manner of their absolution. § 2. Censures were inflicted for all sorts of crimes, especially for idolatry. § 3. The whole church were the judges that composed the ecclesiastical consistory. The executive power lodged in the clergy, and legislative both in clergy and laity. In difficult points some neighbouring bishops assisted at the decision of them. § 4. The manner of their censures. § 5. Their censures consisted in excommunications and suspensions: the dreadfulness thereof. § 6. The course that offenders took to be absolved: they first lay grovelling and weeping at the church doors. § 7. Then admitted into the rank of the penitents. Their behaviour during their time of penance. § 8. How long their penance was. In some cases the fixed period anticipated; when ended, the penitents were examined by the court, and if approved, then absolved. § 9. The manner of their absolution. They came into the church with all expressions of sorrow, publicly confessed the sin for which they had been censured. The church was tenderly affected with their confession. § 10. After confession they were absolved by the clergy's imposition of hands. § 11. Then admitted to the church's peace. The clergy generally restored only to lay communion.

§ 1. As all governments are necessitated to make use of laws, and other political means, to preserve their constitution; so the church of Christ, which has a certain government annexed to it, that it may preserve itself from ruin and confusion, has certain laws and orders for the due regulation of her members, and penalties annexed to the breaches thereof. But herein lies the difference between the one and the other: the penalties and executions of the former are like its constitution, purely human and carnal; but those of the other are spiritual; as religion was at first received by spiritual and voluntary, and not by carnal

and involuntary means; for, as Tertullian says, "It is not religion to force a religion, which ought to be willingly, not forcibly received."<sup>a</sup> So by the same means it was continued, and the penalties of the breach of it were of the same nature also. The church's arms were spiritual, consisting of admonitions, excommunications, suspensions, and such like, by the wielding of which she governed her members, and preserved her own peace and purity. Now this is that which is called discipline, which is absolutely necessary to the unity, peace, and being of the church; for where there is no law, government, or order, that society cannot possibly subsist, but must sink in its own ruins and confusions.

To recite the numerous encomiums of discipline that are interspersed in the writings of the ancients, would be an endless task: let this one suffice out of Cyprian: "Discipline," says he, "is the keeper of hope, the stay of faith, the captain of salvation, the fuel and nutriment of a good disposition, the mistress of virtue, that makes us perpetually abide in Christ, and live to God, and tend toward the heavenly and divine promises. This to follow is saving, but to despise and neglect is deadly. The Holy Ghost speaks in Psalm ii, 12, 'Keep discipline, lest the Lord be angry, and ye perish from the right way, when his wrath is kindled but a little against you.' And again in Psalm l, 16, 'But unto the sinner God said, What hast thou to do to declare my law, and to take my judgments into thy mouth? Thou hatest discipline, and castest my words behind thee.' And again we read in Wisdom iii, 11, 'He that casteth off discipline is unhappy.' And by Solomon we have received this command from Wisdom in Prov. iii, 11, 'My son, forget not the discipline of the Lord, nor faint when thou art corrected; for whom the Lord loveth

<sup>a</sup> Nec religionis est cogere religionem, quæ sponte suscipi debeat, non vi. Ad Scapulam, p. 447.

he correcteth.' But if God corrects whom he loves, and corrects them that they may amend; Christians also, and especially ministers, do not hate, but love those whom they correct, that they may amend, since God hath also foretold our times in Jer. iii, 15, 'And I will give you pastors after mine own heart, and they shall feed you in discipline.'"<sup>a</sup>

Now this is that discipline, viz., the power and authority of the church exerted by her, for her own preservation, in the censuring of her offending members, that I am now to discourse of; for the clearer apprehension whereof these six queries must be examined into: 1. For what faults offenders were censured. 2. Who were the judges that censured. 3. The manner of their censures. 4. What their censures were. 5. The course that offenders took to be absolved. And, 6. The manner of their absolution.

§ 2. As to the first of these, for what faults offenders were censured. I answer, for schism,<sup>b</sup> heresy,<sup>c</sup> covet-

<sup>a</sup> *Disciplina custos spei, retinaculum fidei, dux itineris salutaris, fomes ac nutrimentum bonæ indolis, magistra virtutis, facit in Christo manere semper, ac jugiter Deo vivere, et ad promissa cœlestia et divina præmia pervenire. Hanc et sectari salubre est, et aversari ac negligere letale. In Psalmis loquitur Spiritus Sanctus: continete disciplinam, ne forte irascatur Dominus, et pereatis à via recta, cum exarserit cito ira ejus super vos. Et iterum; peccatori autem dixit Deus, ad quid exponis justificationes meas, et assumis testamentum meum per os tuum? Tu autem odisti disciplinam, et abjecisti sermones meos retro. Et denuo legimus: disciplinam qui abjicit, infelix est. Et de Solomone mandata Sapientiæ monentis accipimus: fili ne neglexeris disciplinam Domini, nec defeceris ab eo correptus. Quem enim diligit Dominus corripit. Si autem Deus quem diligit, corripit, et ad hoc corripit, ut emendet; fratres quoque, et maxime sacerdotes, non oderunt, sed diligunt eos quos corripiunt ut emendent; quando et Deus per Hieremiam ante prædixerit, et tempora nostra significaverit, dicens; et dabo vobis pastores secundum cor meum, et pascent vos pascentes cum disciplina. De Disciplina et Habitu Virginum, §. 1, pp. 265, 266.*

<sup>b</sup> So was Felicissimus in Cyprian. Epist. 38, § 2, p. 90.

<sup>c</sup> Euseb. lib. 5, cap. 16, p. 181.



ousness,<sup>a</sup> gluttony,<sup>b</sup> fornication,<sup>c</sup> adultery,<sup>d</sup> and for all other sins whatsoever,<sup>e</sup> none excepted; nay, the holy and good men of those days were so zealous against sin, that they used the strictest severities against the least appearances of it, not indulging or sparing the least branch of its pestiferous production, but smartly punishing the least sprout of it, its lesser acts, as well as those that were more scandalous and notorious. Cyprian writes, that not only *gravissima et extrema delicta*, the greatest and most heinous crimes, but even *minora delicta*,<sup>f</sup> the lesser faults, were punished by their ecclesiastical courts, so cutting off sin in its bud, and, by the excision of its lesser acts and ebullitions, preventing its more gross and scandalous eruptions. That particular sin which they most severely punished, and through the frequency of persecution had numerous objects of, was apostacy from the truth, or a lapsing into idolatry, which crime was always prosecuted with the extremest rigour; of which Ninus, Clementianus, and Florus, were sad instances, who, though they had for some time courageously endured their persecutions and torments, yet at last, through the violence thereof, and the weakness of their flesh, unwillingly consenting to the heathen idolatries, were for that fault forced to undergo three years penance; and, had it not been for their ancient merits, must have underwent it much longer, as may be seen at large in the fifty-third epistle of Cyprian. And thus by these and such like severe and rigorous courses those primitive virtuosos endeavoured to prevent sin, and to make all the professors of the Christian religion truly holy and pious: for, as Origen saith, “We use our utmost

<sup>a</sup> Origen. Hom. 7 in Jerem. p. 94, vol. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Origen. *ibidem*.

<sup>c</sup> Cyprian. Epist. 52, § 13, p. 118.

<sup>d</sup> Cyprian. Epist. 38, § 2, p. 90.

<sup>e</sup> Origen. contra Celsum, lib. 3, p. 142.

<sup>f</sup> Epist. 12, § 1, p. 37.

endeavours that our assemblies be composed of wise and honest men.”<sup>a</sup>

§ 3. As for the judges that composed the consistory or ecclesiastical court, before whom offending criminals were convened, and by whom censured, they will appear to have been the whole church, both clergy and laity ; not the bishop without the people, nor the people without the bishop, but both conjunctly constituted that supreme tribunal which censured delinquents and transgressors, as will be evident from what follows.

All the power that any church court exerted was derived from that promise and commission of Christ in Matthew xvi, 18, 19, “Thou art Peter ; and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven : and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven ; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.” Now this power some of the ancients mention as given to the bishops. Thus Origen writes, “that the bishops applied to themselves this promise that was made to Peter, teaching that they had received the keys of the kingdom of heaven from our Saviour, that so, whatsoever was bound, that is, condemned by them on earth, was bound in heaven ; and whatsoever was loosed by them, was also loosed in heaven ; which,” says he, “may be orthodoxly enough applied to them, if they hold Peter’s confession, and are such as the church of Christ may be built upon.”<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Ἡμεῖς γὰρ δὴ δύναμις πάντα πράττομεν ὑπὲρ τῶν φρονιμῶν ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι τὸν σύλλογον ἡμῶν. Contra Celsum. lib. 3, p. 143.

<sup>b</sup> Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τὸν τόπον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐκδικοῦντες χρῶνται τῷ ῥητῷ ὡς Πέτρος, καὶ τὰς κλείδας τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας ἀπο τοῦ σωτῆρος εἰληφότες διδάσκουσι τε τὰ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν δεδεμένα, τούτῃ καταδεδικασμένα, καὶ ἐν οὐρανοῖς δεδέσθαι, καὶ τὰ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἄφεσιν εἰληφότα, καὶ ἐν οὐρανοῖς λελυσθαι, λεκτεον ὅτι ὕγιως λέγουσιν εἰ ἔχουσιν ἔργον

And so also says Cyprian : " The church is founded upon the bishops, by whom every ecclesiastical action is governed."<sup>a</sup>

Others of the ancients mention this power as given to the whole church, according to that in Matthew xviii, 15-18, " If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone : if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church : but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican. Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven ; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." By the church here is to be understood the whole body of a particular church or parish, unto which some of the fathers attribute the power of the keys, as Tertullian : " If thou fearest heaven to be shut, remember the Lord gave its keys to Peter, and by him to the church."<sup>b</sup> And Firmilian : " The power of remitting sin is given to the apostles, and to the churches which they constituted, and to the bishops who succeeded them."<sup>c</sup> Now from this different attribution of the power of the keys, we may infer this, that it was so lodged both

*δι' ὃ εἰρηται ἐκεινῷ τῷ Πέτρῳ, σὺ εἰ Πέτρος, καὶ εἰ τηλικούτοι εἰσὶν ὡς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ οἰκοδομεῖσθαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐβλόγως τοῦτο ἀναφέρει' ἄν.* Commen. in Matthæum, tom. 12, p. 279, vol. 1.

<sup>a</sup> Ecclesia super episcopos constituatur ; et omnis actus ecclesiæ, per eosdem præpositos gubernetur. Epist. 27, § 1, p. 62.

<sup>b</sup> Si clausum putas cælum, memento claves ejus hîc Dominum Petro, et per eum ecclesiæ reliquisse. Scoriac. p. 612.

<sup>c</sup> Potestas remittendorum peccatorum apostolis data est, et ecclesiis quas illi à Christo missi constituerunt, et episcopis qui eis ordinatione vicariâ successerunt. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75, § 14, p. 240.

in bishops and people, as that each had some share in it: the bishop had the whole executive, and part of the legislative power, and the people had a part in the legislative, though not in the executive. As for the executive power, by which I understand the formal pronouncement of suspensions and excommunications, the imposition of hands in the absolution of penitents, and such like, that could be done by none but by the bishop, or by persons in holy orders deputed and commissioned by him, as the sequel will evince. But as for the legislative, decretive, or judicatorial power, that appertained both to clergy and laity, who conjunctly made up that supreme consistorial court, which was in every parish, before which all offenders were tried; and, if found guilty, sentenced and condemned.

Now that the clergy were members of this ecclesiastical court, is a thing so evidently known and granted by all, as that it would be superfluous to heap up many quotations to prove it, so that I shall but just confirm it, after I have proved that which may seem more strange, and that is, that the laity were members thereof, and judges therein, being sharers with the clergy in the judicial power of the spiritual court: and this will most evidently appear by the consideration of these following testimonies. The first shall be out of that place of Clemens Romanus, where he writes, "Who will say, according to the example of Moses, if seditions, contentions, and schisms, are happened because of me, I will depart, I will go wheresoever you please, and I will do what is enjoined me by the people, so the church of Christ be in peace."<sup>a</sup>

So Origen describes a criminal as appearing *ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, "before the whole church."<sup>b</sup> And Diony-

<sup>a</sup> *Εἰ δὲ ἐμὲ γάσις καὶ ἔρις, καὶ σχίσματα, ἐγὼ ὠρῶ, ἅπειμι οὐ ἐὰν βούλεσθε, καὶ ποιῶ τὰ προσασσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους.* Epist. 1 ad Corinth. p. 69.

<sup>b</sup> Comment. in Matt. tom. 13, p. 335, vol. 1.

sus, bishop of Alexandria, in his letter to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, speaks of one Serapion, that had fallen in the times of persecution, who had several times appeared before the church, to beg their pardon, but "no one did ever take any notice of him."<sup>a</sup>

But Cyprian is most full in this matter, as, when two subdeacons and an acolyth of his parish had committed some great misdemeanors, he professes that he himself was not a sufficient judge of their crimes, but "they ought to be tried by all the people."<sup>b</sup> And concerning Felicissimus the schismatic, he writes to his people from his exile, that, if it pleased God, he would come to them after Easter, and then that "affair should be adjusted according to their abitremēt and common counsel."<sup>c</sup> And in another place he condemns the rash precipitation of some of his presbyters in admitting the lapsed to communion, because of some pacificatory libels obtained from the confessors, and charges them to admit no more till peace was restored to the church, and then they should "plead their cause before the clergy, and before all the people."<sup>d</sup> And concerning the same matter he writes in another letter to the people of his parish, "that when it should please God to restore peace to the church, and reduce him from his exile, that then it should be examined in their presence, and according to their judgment."<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Οὐδεὶς προσεῖχεν αὐτῷ.* Euseb. lib. 6, cap. 44, p. 246.

<sup>b</sup> *Hæc singulorum tractanda sit, et limanda plenius ratio—cum plebe ipsa universa.* Epist. 28, § 2, p. 64.

<sup>c</sup> *Secundum arbitrium quoque vestrum et omnium nostrum commune consilium—ea quæ agenda sunt disponere pariter et limare poterimus.* Epist. 40, § 1, p. 94.

<sup>d</sup> *Acturi et apud nos, et apud plebem universam causam suam.* Epis. 10, § 4, p. 30.

<sup>e</sup> *Cum pace nobis omnibus à Domino prius data ad ecclesiam regredi cœperimus, tunc examinabuntur singula præsentibus ac judicantibus vobis.* Epist. 12 ad Plebem, § 1, p. 37.

So that the consistory court was composed of the people, as well as of the bishop, each of whom had a negative voice therein. On one side, the bishop could do nothing without the people. So, when several returned from the schism of Fortunatus, and Bishop Cyprian was willing to receive them into the church's peace, he complains of the unwillingness of his people to admit them, and the great difficulties he had to obtain their consent, as he thus describes it in his letter to Cornelius, bishop of Rome : " O, my dear brother, if you could be present with me when those men return from their schism, you would wonder at what pains I take to persuade our brethren to be patient, that, laying aside their grief of mind, they would consent to the healing and receiving of those that are sick ; I can scarce persuade, yea, I extort a grant from my people, that such be received to communion."<sup>a</sup> And on the other side, the people could do nothing without the bishop ; as when one of the three bishops that schismatically ordained Novatian came back to the church, and desired admission, the people alone could not receive him without the consent of the bishop Cornelius ; for else they would not have " so earnestly pressed him for his permission,"<sup>b</sup> as we find they did.

Thus then we have viewed the members of the spiritual court, and have proved that they were all the members, or the whole body of the church, clergy as well as laity, and laity as well as clergy ; not one without the other, but both together.

<sup>a</sup> O si posses, frater charissime, istic interesse nobiscum, cum pravi isti et perversi de schismate revertuntur, videres quis mihi labor sit persuadere patientiam fratribus nostris, ut animi dolore sopito recipiendis malis curandisque consentiant ; vix plebi persuadeo, imò extorqueo, ut tales patiantur admitti. Epist. 55, § 17, p. 143.

<sup>b</sup> Ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δεηθέντος παντὸς τοῦ παρόντος λαοῦ. Cornel. apud Euseb. lib. 6, cap. 43, p. 244.

But now, forasmuch as the people were encumbered with earthly business, and it was not possible that they could constantly give their attendance, and narrowly search into every thing that should be brought before them; therefore we may suppose that the members of the presbytery, who, as was said before under the head of Ordination, were to be free from all worldly cares and employments, were appointed as a committee to prepare matters for the whole court. An instance whereof we meet with in Maximus, Urbanus, Sidonius, and some others, that had joined in the schism of Novatian, who, being sensible of their fault, "came into the presbytery, and desired the church's peace. The presbytery accepted of their submission, and proposed it to the whole church, who readily embraced it."<sup>a</sup>

So that the presbytery prepared matters for the whole court, which court was the supreme tribunal within the limits of that parish, before whom all matters that there occurred were tried, and by whom all were judged; only when any great and difficult points were decided, 'tis probable it was the custom to desire the bishops of the neighbouring parishes to come over and assist there in presence, that so their censures might be the freer from any imputation of partiality or injustice. Thus when a nice affair was to be determined at Rome, Cornelius "desired five bishops to assist, that so what they did might be firm and indisputable."<sup>b</sup>

§ 4. Having thus found out the members of the ecclesiastical tribunal, the next thing to be considered is the manner and form of their proceedings in the exercise of

<sup>a</sup> In presbyterium venerunt—Quod erat consequens, omnis hic actus populo fuerit insinuandus. Cyprian. Epist. 46, § 2, 3, pp. 104, 105.

<sup>b</sup> Adfuerunt episcopi quinque—ut firmato consilio, quid circa personam eorum observari deberet, consensu omnium statueretur. Cornel. ad Cyprian. Epist. 46, § 2, p. 104.

their judicial power and authority, which by Tertullian is described to be after this manner : When at their general assemblies the other parts of divine worship were ended, " then followed exhortations, reproofs, and a divine censure ; for the judgment is given with great weight, as amongst those that are sure that God beholds what they do ; and this is one of the highest preludiums and fore-runners of the judgment to come, when the delinquent is banished from the communion of prayers, assemblies, and all holy commerce. Approved elders preside there, who obtained that honour by testimony, not by price."<sup>a</sup> So that when the consistory was sat, the bishop and his assisting presbyters, here called approved elders, but commonly the presbytery, presided and moderated all things there proposed and debated. Then the offenders, if possible, were actually brought before them, (though the non-appearance of the criminals was no impediment to their proceedings,) for notwithstanding they condemned them, and censured them not only for those crimes for which they were cited to appear, but also for their contumacy and stubbornness, as Cyprian writes : " The proud and obstinate are killed with the spiritual sword, whilst they are cast out of the church ;"<sup>b</sup> and " those that are stubborn, and fear not God, but go off from the church, let no man accompany."<sup>c</sup> But yet, I say, if possible, the offenders personally appeared, that so their crimes might be objected

<sup>a</sup> Ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes, et censura divina ; nam et judicatur magno cum pondere, ut apud certos de Dei conspectu, summumque futuri iudicii præjudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit, ut à communicatione orationis, et conventus, et omnis sancti commercii relegatur. Præsident probati quique seniores, honorem istum non precio sed testimonio adepti. Apolog. cap. 39, p. 709.

<sup>b</sup> Spirituali gladio superbi et contumaces necantur, dum de ecclesia ejiciuntur. Epist. 62, § 3, p. 170.

<sup>c</sup> Contumaces et Deum non timentes, et ab ecclesia in totum recedentes, nemo comitetur. Epist. 64, § 4, p. 191.



to them, to which they were to plead, as Cyprian says, that the lapsed "were to plead their cause before the clergy and the whole church."<sup>a</sup> Then the court considered the defendant's plea, as Cyprian writes, "that all things were debated in common amongst them."<sup>b</sup> And if the bishop and majority of the court judged their defence insufficient, they were voted by their common suffrage to be condemned and censured, as Cyprian writes, that "whoever was excommunicated, it was by the divine suffrages of the people."<sup>c</sup> The delinquent being thus cast, or found guilty, the next thing that succeeded was, the formal declaration of the sentence of the court, which was pronounced, as Tertullian intimates, in that forequoted passage, by one of the presiding elders; that is, either by the bishop or a presbyter commissioned by him: the manner of which pronouncement seems also from that passage to be thus: he that passed the formal sentence on the criminal first began with exhortations; that is, as we may reasonably suppose, he exhorted the faithful to use all diligent care and fear to avoid those sins and crimes which had brought the offenders before them to so lamentable and fatal condition. Then followed reproofs, which were sharp rebukes and reprehensions to the delinquents for their foul miscarriages and enormous practices, setting forth the evil, villany, and misery of them; that they were provoking to God, grievous to the faithful, scandalous to religion, and, in fine, ruining and pernicious to themselves, in that it rendered them obnoxious to that divine censure, which then immediately, as the conclusion of all, he formally pronounced on them. Which brings me to the consideration of the

<sup>a</sup> Acturi et apud nos, et apud plebem universam causam suam. Epist. 10, § 4, p. 30.

<sup>b</sup> In commune tractabimus. Epist. 6, § 5, p. 17.

<sup>c</sup> Secundum vestra divina suffragia conjurati. Epist. 40 ad Plebem. § 1, p. 92.

fourth query, viz., What the primitive censures were ; of which in the following section.

§ 5. Now in answer hereunto : As the church, so her arms, were spiritual : her thunderbolts consisted in suspensions and excommunications, in ejecting and throwing out of the church her scandalous and rotten members, not permitting a reinduction of them till, by visible signs of repentance, they had satisfied for their crimes and villainies.

Various are the appellations that are given to the sentence of excommunication in the writings of the ancients. By Dionysius Alexandrinus it is called, “a driving away from the church :”<sup>a</sup> by Tertullian, “a casting out from the church’s communion,”<sup>b</sup> and “a driving from communion ;”<sup>c</sup> by Cyprian, “a separation from the church,”<sup>d</sup> “an ejection out of the church,”<sup>e</sup> “a killing with the spiritual sword ;”<sup>f</sup> and many other such like terms occur in the fathers, all tending to describe the fearfulness and misery of an excommunicated state. So tremendous was it that whosoever was in that condition was looked upon as accursed by God, and really was so by men, who esteemed him as a limb of Satan, and a member of the devil, shunning his company as they did the plague, or any other infectious disease. “Those,” says Cyprian, “that are proud, and fear not God, but go off from the church, let no man accompany.”<sup>g</sup> And therefore Irenæus, speaking concerning the heretics who were all excommunicated, says,

<sup>a</sup> Ἀπελάσας τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Apud Euseb. lib. 7, cap. 7, p. 253.

<sup>b</sup> Ab ecclesiæ communicatione abjectus. De Præscript. advers. Hæret. p. 95.

<sup>c</sup> A communicatione depellere. De Monogam. p. 477.

<sup>d</sup> Ab ecclesia separari. Epist. 38, § 2, p. 90.

<sup>e</sup> De ecclesia se pellerent. Epist. 40, § 1, p. 92.

<sup>f</sup> Spirituali gladio necantur. Epist. 62, § 3, p. 170.

<sup>g</sup> Contumaces et Deum non timentes, et ab ecclesia in totum recedentes, nemo comitetur. Epist. 65, § 4, p. 191.

that, "according to the command of Paul, we must avoid them; and John forbids us so much as to wish them God speed, since by so doing we communicate with their evil works."<sup>a</sup> And Tertullian, in that forementioned place, writes, "that the delinquent was banished from the communion of prayers, assemblies, and all holy converse;"<sup>b</sup> being looked upon as one unworthy of human society, cast out of the church of God here, and, if impenitently dying in that condition, as certainly excluded the kingdom of God hereafter. For, as Origen writes on Matthew xviii, 18, on which text excommunication is founded, "he that is condemned and bound by the church on earth, remains bound, none in heaven unloosing him."<sup>c</sup>

§ 6. No wonder, then, that men in their right senses were affrighted at the tremendous misery of an excommunicated condition, and that, when through their corrupt natures and wicked practices they had incurred that sentence, they never left fasting, watching, weeping, and the endurance of the severest courses of mortification till they were absolved from it, and reinstated in God's and the church's favour; which brings me, in the next place, to search into the course that offenders took to be received into the church again, the usual method whereof seems to have been thus:—

All those that desired to be delivered from that miserable state, in the first place, in a most penitent and humble manner, came weeping and crying unto the church doors,

<sup>a</sup> Quos Paulus jubet nobis devitare, Joannes enim non Ave nobis eis dici volens. Qui enim dicit, inquit, eis Ave, communicat operibus eorum nequissimis. Lib. 1, cap. 13, p. 63.

<sup>b</sup> A communicatione orationis, et conventus, et omnis sancti commercii relegetur. Apol. cap. 39, p. 709.

<sup>c</sup> Ὁ τοιοῦτος δεδεμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ τοιοῦδι, μένει δεδεμένος, οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀναλόντος τοῦ δεδεκότος αὐτὴν τὴν ψῆφον. Comment. in Matt. tom. 13, p. 336, vol. 1.

where they lay grovelling on the ground, prostrating themselves at the feet of the faithful as they went into church, and begging their prayers to God for them. The behaviour of these men is thus elegantly expressed by the clergy of the church of Rome, in a letter to Cyprian : " Let them," say they, " knock at the church doors, but not break them ; let them come to the threshold of the church, but not pass over it ; let them watch at the gates of the celestial tents, but armed with modesty, by which they may remember they were deserters ; let them resume the trumpet of their prayers, but not to sound an alarm to battle ; let them arm themselves with the darts of modesty, and retake that shield which by their apostacy they lost, that so they may be armed, not against the church, which grieves at their misery, but against their adversary the devil ; a modest petition, a bashful supplication, a necessary humility, and an industrious patience will be advantageous to them : let them express their grief by their tears, and their sorrow and shame for their crimes by their groans."\* So Tertullian in the same manner describes one in this state : " by lying in sackcloth and ashes, by having a squalid body, and a dejected soul, by fasting, praying, weeping, groaning, and roaring, night and day ; by throwing himself at the clergy's feet, and kneeling

\* *Pulsent sane fores, sed non utique confringant ; adeant ad limen ecclesiæ, sed non utique transilient. Castrorum cœlestium excubent portis, sed armati modestia, qua intelligant se desertores fuisse. Resumant precum suarum tubam, sed qua non bellicum clangant. Arment se quidem modestiæ telis, et quem negando mortis metu fidei demiserant clypeum resumant, sed ut contra hostem diabolum vel nunc armati non contra ecclesiam, quæ illorum dolet casus, armatos se esse credant. Multum illis proficiet petitio modesta, postulatio verecunda, humilitas necessaria, patientia non otiosa ; mittant legatos pro suis doloribus lacrymas ; advocacy fungantur ex intimo pectore prolati gemitus, dolorem probantes commissi criminis et pudorem. Epist. 31 apud Cyprian. § 7, p. 71.*

before the faithful, begging and desiring their prayers and pardon.”<sup>a</sup>

§ 7. If the ecclesiastical court thought their repentance to be real, and those external expressions of sorrow and grief to proceed from suitable affections of heart, then they began to incline to some terms of remission and reconciliation, and gave the delinquents some hopes of it by admitting them to come into the church, and to stay at some part of divine service, but not at the whole of it; to communicate with the faithful, till they had for a long space of time, which they then imposed on them, by their humble and modest carriage given good proofs of their sorrow and repentance.

This fixed time of trial was called the time of penance, during which the penitent, as he was now called, appeared in all the formalities of sorrow, with a coarse habit, and a dejected countenance, continually fasting and praying, and lamenting and bemoaning the greatness and aggravations of his sin and wickedness, as may be seen in sundry places of the fathers, all which to transcribe would be very tedious; wherefore I shall content myself with translating a few elegancies, pertinent to this purpose, out of Cyprian’s book, “*De Lapsis*,” wherein he thus inveighs against those who in a state of penance indulged themselves in the delights and enjoyments of the flesh: “Can we think that that man weeps with his whole heart, and with fastings, tears, and sighs, beseeches God, who from the very first day of his offence daily frequents the baths; who, indulging to his gluttonous appetite this day, vomits up his undigested crudities the next day, and does not communicate of his meat and drink to the necessities of

<sup>a</sup> *Sacco et cineri incubare, corpus sordibus obscurare, animum moribus dejicere,——Jejuniis preces alere, ingemiscere, lachrymari, et mugire dies noctesque——presbyteris advolvi, et caris Dei adgeniculari, omnibus fratribus legationes deprecationis sue injungere. De Penitentia, p. 381.*

the poor? He that goes gay and jocund, how does he bewail his death? Does that woman weep and mourn, who spends her time in putting on splendid garments, and does not think upon the garment of Christ, which she lost? who seeks after precious ornaments and rich jewels, and does not bewail the loss of the heavenly and divine adorning? Although thou putttest on exotic garbs and silken garments, thou art naked; although thou beautifiest thyself with gold and pearls, without the beauty of Christ thou art deformed; and thou who diest thine hair, now leave it off in this time of penance; and thou who paintest thine eyes, wash it off with thy tears. If thou shouldst lose any one of thy dear friends by death, thou wouldst sorrowfully weep and howl, and express the greatness of thy sorrow by thy disregarded face, mourning garments, neglected hair, cloudy countenance, and dejected visage. Why, O wretch, thou hast lost thy soul, and wilt not thou bitterly weep, and continually lament?"<sup>a</sup> "Now therefore pray and supplicate more earnestly, pass the day in weeping, the night in watching and crying, both night

<sup>a</sup> *Lamentari eum putamus ex toto corde, jejuniis, fletibus, planctibus, Dominum deprecari; qui ex primo criminis die lavacra quotidie celebrat, qui epulis affluentibus pastus, et sagina largiore distentus, cruditates suas postridie eructat, nec cibos et potus suos cum pauperum necessitate communicat? Qui hilaris ac lætus incedit, quomodo mortem suam deflet? An illa ingemiscit et plangit, cui vacat cultum pretiosæ vestis induere, nec indumentum Christi, quod perdidit, cogitare? Accipere pretiosa ornamenta et monilia elaborata, nec divini et cælestis ornatus damna deflere; tu licet indumenta peregrina et vestes sericas induas, nuda es; auro te licet et margaritis gemmisque condecores, sine Christi decore deformis es. Et quæ capillos tuos inficis, vel nunc in doloribus desine, et quæ nigri pulveris ductu oculorum lineamenta depingis, vel nunc lacrymis oculos tuos ablue. Si quem de tuis charis mortali exitu, perdidisses, ingemisceres dolenter, et fleres: facie inculcata, vesta mutata, neglecto capillo, vultu nubilo, ore dejecto indicia mœroris ostenderes. Animam tuam misera perdidisti—Et non acriter plangis, non jugiter ingemiscis? De Lapsis, § 24, 25, p. 285.*

and day in tears and lamentations, prostrate yourselves upon the ground, roll yourselves in dust and ashes; after having lost the garment of Christ, have no clothing here; having tasted the devil's meat, choose now to fast."<sup>a</sup>

§ 8. How long these penitentiary stations were cannot be defined, since they differed according to the quality of the offence and the offender, according to the circumstance of time, and the will and pleasure of the ecclesiastical court who imposed them. Some were in the state of penance two years, some three, some five, some ten, some more, some even to their lives' ends: but how long and rigorous soever their penance was, they were patiently, humbly, and thankfully to endure it the whole time, being not absolved till they had undergone "the legal and full time of satisfaction."<sup>b</sup>

It is true, indeed, that in some extraordinary cases the prudence of the church saw fit to dispense with the usual length and severity of their inflicted discipline, as "in case of death,"<sup>c</sup> "of an approaching persecution," or "when a great multitude, and eminent leading persons,"<sup>d</sup> were concerned in the same offence; as in the case of Trophimus, which may be seen in the fifty-second epistle of Cyprian. Besides these, the confessors claimed the privilege of restoring penitents before the usual time; which irregular and unreasonable practice of theirs caused great disturbances to the church of Carthage in the days

<sup>a</sup> Orare oportet impensius et rogare, diem luctu transigere, vigiliis noctes ac fletibus ducere, tempus omne lacrymosis lamentationibus occupare, stratos solo adherere cineri, in cilicio et sordibus voluntari: post indumentum Christi perditum, nullum hic jam velle vestitum: post diaboli cibum malle jejuniū. De Lapsis, § 28, p. 286.

<sup>b</sup> Legitimum et plenum tempus satisfactionis. Cyprian. *Epist.* 59, § 1, p. 164.

<sup>c</sup> Urgere exitus cœperit. Apud Cyprian. *Epist.* 13, § 1, p. 39.

<sup>d</sup> Lapsis. pacem dandam esse, et eos ad prælium, quod imminet, armari et instrui oportere. Apud Cyprian. *Epist.* 54, § 1, p. 132.

of Cyprian, which may be seen at large in several epistles extant in the beginning of his works.

But, laying aside these unusual circumstances, the fixed period of penance was never anticipated; but how long and severe soever it was, the penitent cheerfully submitted to it.

When the appointed time of penance was ended, the penitent applied himself to the ecclesiastical court for absolution, who "examined his demeanours and actions,"<sup>a</sup> which, if they approved and liked, they then proceeded to the formal assyoling of him, of which in the following sections.

§ 9. On the appointed day for absolution, the penitent, or he that was now to be absolved, came into the church mourning and weeping, and expressing all external indications of his internal sorrow: as when Natalis, a Roman confessor, was absolved for his joining with the Theodosian heretics, he came into the church, as it is related by an ancient nameless Christian, "covered with sackcloth and ashes, throwing himself at the feet of the clergy and laity, and, with tears in his eyes, begging their pardon and forgiveness;"<sup>b</sup> it being looked upon as very proper that they should be admitted into the church "by tears, not by threats; by prayers, and not by curses."<sup>c</sup>

Hence, at this time, for the greater demonstration of their sorrow and humility, they were to make a public confession of their sin, styled by them *exomologesis*, which was, as Cyprian saith, "a confession of their great and heinous crime,"<sup>d</sup> and was a necessary antecedent to absolution; inasmuch as it was the source and spring of all

<sup>a</sup> *Inspecta vita ejus qui agit pœnitentiam.* Cyp. Epist. 12, § 1, p. 37.

<sup>b</sup> Ἐνδυσάμενον σάκκον καὶ σπόδον καταπασάμενον, μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς καὶ δακρύων, προσπεσεῖν κλήρῳ καὶ τῶν λαϊκῶν—πολλὰ τῇ δεήσει χρησάμενον. Apud Euseb. lib. 5, cap. 28, p. 197.

<sup>c</sup> Non minis sed precibus et lamentationibus. Cyp. Epist. 55, § 18, p. 143.

<sup>d</sup> *Exomologesin gravissimi atque extremi delicti.* Epist. 11, § 1, p. 33.



true repentance. For, as Tertullian observes, "Out of confession is born repentance; and by confession comes satisfaction."<sup>a</sup> And in many places of Cyprian<sup>b</sup> the necessity of confession is asserted; for, as Tertullian says, "Confession as much diminishes the fault as dissimulation aggravates it: confession is the advice of satisfaction; dissimulation, of contumacy."<sup>c</sup> And, therefore, he condemns those who, through shame, deferred from day to day the publication of their sin, as "more mindful of their shamefacedness than of their salvation: like those who have a disease in their secret parts, through shame conceal it from the surgeons, and so with their modesty die and perish."<sup>d</sup> Confession, therefore, being so necessary, the greatest offenders were not exempted from it; as when Philip the emperor, as Eusebius calls him, or rather Philip, a prefect of Egypt, would have joined with the faithful in the church's prayer, Bishop Babylas denied him admission because of his enormous crimes; nor would he receive him till he had made "a public confession of his faults."<sup>e</sup> And, accordingly, when one of those bishops that schismatically ordained Novatian returned as a penitent, he came into the church weeping and "confessing his sin;"<sup>f</sup> where we may observe it is said in the singular number, "his sin," τὸ ἐαυτοῦ ἁμάρτημα, which intimates that the pen-

<sup>a</sup> Satisfactio confessione disponitur, confessione penitentia nocetur. De Penitentia, p. 290.

<sup>b</sup> Epist. 10, § 2, p. 30. Epist. 11, § 1, p. 32.

<sup>c</sup> Tantum relevat confessio delictum, quantum dissimulatio exaggravat; confessio enim satisfactionis consilium est, dissimulatio contumacia. De Penitentia, p. 380.

<sup>d</sup> Pudoris magis memores quam salutis; velut illi qui in partibus re-recundioribus corporis contractâ vexatione, conscientiam meditentur vitant, et ita cum erubescencia sua pereunt. De Penitentia, p. 363.

<sup>e</sup> Ἐξομολογήσασθαι. Apud Euseb. lib. 6, cap. 34, p. 332.

<sup>f</sup> Ἐξομολογούμενος τὸ ἐαυτοῦ ἁμάρτημα. Cornel. apud Euseb. lib. 6, cap. 43, p. 243.

itent's confession was not only general, or for all his sins in the gross; but it was particular, for that special sin for which he was censured; consonant whereunto Cyprian, as before quoted, writes, that the penitent "confessed his most great and heinous sin;"<sup>a</sup> that is, that sin for which he was so severely punished.

This confession of the penitents was made with all the outer signs of sorrow and grief, which usually so affected the faithful as that they sympathized with them in mourning and weeping. Whence Tertullian exhorts the penitent not through shame to conceal, but from a true godly disposition to confess his fault before the whole church, and to weep and mourn for it; "since they, being his brethren, would also weep with, and over him."<sup>b</sup> And so, from the same consideration, Cyprian exhorted the lapsed to this penitent confession. "With our tears," saith he, "join your tears: with our groans couple your groans."<sup>c</sup>

§ 10. As soon as confession was over, then followed the formal absolution, which was thus: The person to be absolved kneeled down before the bishop and the clergy, who put their hands upon his head and blessed him; by which external ceremony the penitent was declaratively and formally admitted to the church's peace. Thus Cyprian writes, that "they received the right of communion by the imposition of hands of the bishop and his clergy;"<sup>d</sup> and that "no one can be admitted to communion unless the bishop and clergy have imposed hands on him."<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Exomologesisin gravissimi atque extremi delicti. Epist. 11, § 1, p. 32.*

<sup>b</sup> *Ergo cum te ad fratrum genua protendis—æque illi cum, ac super te lacrymas agunt. De Pœnitentia, p. 382.*

<sup>c</sup> *Cum lacrymis nostris, vestras lacrymas jungite; cum nostro gemitu, vestros gemitus copulate. De Lapsis, § 27, p. 258.*

<sup>d</sup> *Per impositionem manus episcopi et cleri jus communicationis accipiunt. Epist. 10, § 2, p. 30.*

<sup>e</sup> *Nec ad communicationem venire quis possit, nisi prius illi et ab episcopo et clero manus fuit imposita. Epist. 12, § 1, p. 37.*

This being accounted the third and last general requisite for the reconciling of offenders, the two former being the undergoing a state of penance, and a public confession of their sin; all which three are frequently mentioned together as such, by Cyprian, as where he says, "Let offenders do penance a set space of time; and, according to the order of discipline, let them come to confession; and by imposition of hands of the bishop and clergy, let them receive the right of communion."<sup>a</sup> And in other places he complains of the irregular and unadvised actions of some of his presbyters, that they admitted some of the lapsed to communion "before they had undergone a due penance, made a public confession of their sin, and had hands imposed on them by the bishop and clergy."<sup>b</sup>

§ 11. After the penitents were absolved by imposition of hands, then they were received into the communion of the faithful, and made partakers again of all those privileges which by their crimes they had for a while forfeited: only when an offending clergyman was absolved, he only was restored to communion as a layman, but never re-admitted to his ecclesiastical dignity. Thus, when one of the schismatical bishops that ordained Novatian, returned to the church, he was deprived of his ecclesiastical office, and admitted only to "lay communion."<sup>c</sup> So likewise apostate or lapsed bishops were never restored again to their office. The reasons whereof may be seen in the sixty-fourth epistle of Cyprian. And therefore Basil-

<sup>a</sup> Agant peccatores pœnitentiam justo tempore, et secundum discipline ordinem ad exomologesin veniant, et per impositionem manus episcopi et cleri jus communicationis accipiant. Epist. 10, § 2, p. 30.

<sup>b</sup> Ante actam pœnitentiam, ante exomologesin gravissimi atque extremi delicti factam, ante manum ab episcopo et clero in pœnitentiam impositam, offerre lapsis pacem, et eucharistiam dare audeant. Epist. 11, § 1, p. 32: and almost the same words are repeated, Epist. 12, § 1, p. 37.

<sup>c</sup> Ἐκοινωνήσαμεν ὡς λαϊκῷ. Cornel. apud Euseb. lib. 6, cap. 43. p. 243.

ides, a lapsed bishop, " would have been extremely glad if the church would but have permitted him to communicate as a layman."<sup>a</sup> But yet I suppose that for every fault clergymen were not deprived of their orders, but only according to the greatness of their crimes, and the aggravation of them, since I find that Maximus, a presbyter of the church of Rome, who had been deluded into the schism of Novatian, was, upon his submission, " restored by Cornelius to his former office."<sup>b</sup>

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## CHAPTER VIII.

§ 1. Of the independency of churches. § 2. Of the dependency of churches. § 3. Of synods, and the several kinds of them. § 4. How often synods were convened. § 5. Who were the members of synods. § 6. By whose authority synods were convened. § 7. When convened, the manner of their proceedings, a moderator first chosen, what the moderator's office was. § 8. Then they entered upon business, which had relation either to foreign churches, or their own; with respect to foreign churches, their acts were only advising. § 9. With respect to their own churches, obliging. The end and power of synods inquired into.

§ 1. To that large discourse of the primitive discipline, which was the subject of the preceding chapter, it will be necessary to add this observation, that all those judicial acts were exerted in and by every single parish, every particular church having power to exercise discipline on her own members, without the concurrency of other churches; else in those places where there might be but

<sup>a</sup> *Satis sibi gratulans, si sibi vel laico communicare contingeret.* Apud Cyprian. Epist. 68, § 7, p. 202.

<sup>b</sup> *Maximum presbyterum locum suum agnoscere jussimus.* Cornel apud Cyprian. Epist. 46, § 4, p. 105.

one church for several miles round, which we may reasonably suppose; the members of that church must have travelled several, if not scores of miles, to have had the consent of other churches, for the punishment of their offenders; but there is no need to make this supposition; since it was decreed by an African synod, "that every one's cause should be heard where the crime was committed; because that to every pastor was committed a particular portion of Christ's flock, which he was particularly to rule and govern, and to render an account thereof unto the Lord."<sup>a</sup> And so another African synod, that decreed the rebaptizing of those that were baptized by heretics, thus conclude their synodical epistle to Pope Stephen, who held the contrary: "Whereas we know that some bishops will not relinquish an opinion which they have embraced, but, keeping the bond of peace and concord with their colleagues, will retain some proper and peculiar sentiments which they have formerly received; to these we offer no violence, or prescribe any law, since every bishop has, in the administration of his church, free liberty to follow his own will, being to render an account of his actions unto the Lord."<sup>b</sup>

After these two synodical determinations, it might be thought needless to produce the single testimony of

<sup>a</sup> Statutum sit omnibus nobis, et æquum sit pariter ac justum, ut unusquisque causa illic audiatur, ubi est crimen admissum, et singulis pastoribus portio gregis sit adscripta, quam regat unusquisque et gubernet, rationem sui actus Domino redditurus. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 55, § 16, p. 142.

<sup>b</sup> Cæterum scimus quosdam quod semel imbiberint nolle deponere, nec propositum suum facile mutare, sed salvo inter collegas pacis et concordie vinculo, quædam propria, quæ apud se semel sint usurpata, retinere; qua in re nec nos vim cuiquam facimus, aut legem damus, cum habeat in ecclesiæ administratione voluntatis suæ arbitrium liberum unusquisque præpositus, rationem actus sui Domino redditurus. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 72, § 3, p. 217.

Cyprian, but that it shows us not only the practice of the bishops of his age, but also of their predecessors. "Amongst the ancient bishops of our province," saith he, "some thought that no peace was to be given to adulterers, for ever excluding them from the communion of the church; but yet they did not leave their fellow-bishops, or for this break the unity of the catholic church; and those that gave peace to adulterers, did not therefore separate from those that did not, but, still retaining the bond of concord, every bishop disposed and directed his own acts, rendering an account of them unto the Lord."<sup>a</sup>

Thus every church was, in this sense, independent; that is, without the concurrence and authority of any other church; it had a sufficient right and power in itself to punish and chastise all its delinquent and offending members.

§ 2. But yet, in another sense, it was dependent, as considered with other churches, as part of the church universal. "There is but one church of Christ," saith Cyprian, "divided through the whole world into many members, and one episcopacy diffused through the numerous concord of many bishops."<sup>b</sup> A particular church was not the whole church of Christ, but only a part or member of the universal one; and as one member of the natural

<sup>a</sup> Apud antecessores nostros quidam de episcopis istic in provincia nostra dandam pacem mœchis non putaverunt, et in totum poenitentiae locum contra adulteria clausurunt, non tamen à co-episcoporum suorum collegio recesserunt, aut catholicæ ecclesiæ unitatem vel duritiæ vel censuræ suæ obstinatione ruperunt, ut quia apud alios adulteris pax dabatur, qui non dabat de ecclesia separaretur, manente concordiae vinculo, et perseverante catholicæ ecclesiæ individuo sacramento, actum suum disponit et dirigit unusquisque episcopus, rationem propositi sui Domino redditurus. Epist. 52, § 13, p. 118.

<sup>b</sup> Cum sit à Christo una ecclesia per totum mundum in multa membra divisa, item episcopatus unus episcoporum multorum concordie numerositate diffusus. Epist. 52, § 13, p. 118.

body hath a regard to all the other members thereof, so a particular church, which was but one member of the universal, had relation and respect to the other members thereof. Hence, though the labours and inspections of the bishops were more peculiarly confined to their own parishes, yet, as ministers of the church universal, they employed a general kind of inspection over other churches also, observing their condition and circumstances, and giving unto them an account of their own state and posture; as Cyprian inspected that of Arles, giving this as his reason for it, that, "although they were many pastors, yet they were but one flock, and they ought to congregate and cherish all the sheep, which Christ redeemed by his blood and passion."<sup>a</sup> And the clergy of the church of Rome thanked Cyprian that he had acquainted them with the state of the church in Africa; for, say they, "We ought all of us to take care of the body of the whole church, whose members are distended through various provinces."<sup>b</sup> If the bishop of one church had any difficult point to determine, he sent to another bishop for his advice and decision thereon. As when Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, had a critical cause to determine, he sent to Xystus, bishop of Rome, "to know his opinion and counsel therein."<sup>c</sup> And so when there was some difference at Carthage about the pacificatory libels of the martyrs, Cyprian wrote to the church of Rome for their advice. For, said he, "Dearly beloved brethren, both common reason and love require that none of these things

<sup>a</sup> Nam etsi pastores multi sumus, unum tamen gregem pascimus, et oves universas quas Christus sanguine suo et passione quæsit, colligere et fovere debemus. Epist. 67, § 6, p. 199.

<sup>b</sup> Omnes enim nos decet pro corpore totius ecclesiæ, cujus per varias quasque provincias membra digesta sunt, excubare. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 30, § 4, p. 67.

<sup>c</sup> Καὶ γὰρ ὅντως ἀδελφε συμβουλῆς δέομαι, καὶ γνώμην αἰτῶ παρὰ σοῦ. Apud Euseb. lib. 7, cap. 9, p. 254

that are transacted here should be kept from your knowledge, but that we should have your counsel about ecclesiastical administrations."<sup>a</sup> In these, and in many other such like cases, which would be needless to enumerate, there was a correspondence between the particular churches of the universal one.

§ 3. But that which chiefly deserves our consideration was their intercourse and government by synodical assemblies, that is, by a convocation of bishops, presbyters, deacons, and deputed laymen of several particular churches, who frequently met together to maintain unity, love, and concord, to advise about their common circumstances and conditions, to regulate all ecclesiastical or church affairs within their respective limits, and to manage other such like things, of which I shall more largely treat in the end of this chapter.

That which must be spoken of in this section is, the several kinds or sorts of synods, the most august and supreme kind whereof was, a universal or œcumenical synod, which was a congregation of the bishops and deputies of as many churches as would please to come from all parts of the world. Of this sort I find but one within my limited space of the first three hundred years after Christ, and that was the council of Antioch<sup>b</sup> that condemned Paulus Samosatenus. Or if this will not pass for a general council, there was no such one before that of Nice, which was held anno 325; and so there was no one of this kind within that time to which I am confined.

But those synods, which were very frequent within my prescribed time, were provincial synods; that is, as many

<sup>a</sup> Et dilectio communis et ratio exposcit, fratres charissimi, nihil conscientie vestre subtrahere de his quæ apud nos geruntur, ut sit nobis circa utilitatem ecclesiasticæ administrationis commune consilium. *Epist.* 29, p. 66.

<sup>b</sup> Apud Euseb. lib. 7, cap. 30, p. 279.



particular churches as could conveniently and orderly associate themselves together, and by their common consent and authority dispose and regulate all things that related to their polity, unity, peace, and order. What extent of ground, or how many particular churches each of such synods did contain, cannot be determined; their precincts were not alike in all places, but according as their circumstances and conveniences would permit; so they formed themselves into these synodical assemblies, and were governed in common by those synods, who were called the synods of such or such a province; as we read in Cyprian of the "province of Arles, and the bishops therein."<sup>a</sup> And Cyprian frequently speaks of the bishops of his province as the bishops "in our province,"<sup>b</sup> and "throughout our province,"<sup>c</sup> and "throughout the province:"<sup>d</sup> and tells us, that "his province was very large,"<sup>e</sup> and that it was "the custom of his province, and almost all other provinces, that upon the vacancy of a parish the neighbouring bishops of that province should meet together at that parish to ordain them a new bishop."<sup>f</sup>

§ 4. How often these provincial synods were convened is uncertain, since that varied according to their circumstances and their respective customs. Firmilian, bishop of Cesarea, in Cappadocia, writes, that in his province "they met every year."<sup>g</sup> And whosoever will consider

<sup>a</sup> Co-episcopis nostris in eadem provincia constitutis. Epist. 67, § 1, p. 198.

<sup>b</sup> In provincia nostra. Epist. 52, § 13, p. 118.

<sup>c</sup> Per provinciam nostram. Epist. 42, § 2, p. 99.

<sup>d</sup> Per provinciam. Epist. 55, § 18, p. 143.

<sup>e</sup> Latius fusa est nostra provincia. Epist. 45, § 2, p. 103.

<sup>f</sup> Apud nos et fere per provincias universas tenetur; ut—ad eam plebem cui præpositus ordinatur, episcopi ejusdem provinciæ proximi quique conveniant. Epist. 68, § 6, p. 202.

<sup>g</sup> Per singulos annos in unum convenimus. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75, § 3, p. 236.

the frequent synods that are mentioned in Cyprian, will find that in his province they met at least once, and sometimes twice or thrice a year.

§ 5. As for the members that composed these synods, they were bishops, presbyters, deacons, and deputed laymen in behalf of the people of their respective churches. Thus at that great synod of Antioch that condemned Paulus Samosatenus, there were present "bishops, presbyters, deacons, and the churches of God;"<sup>a</sup> that is, laymen that represented the people of their several churches. So also we read in an ancient fragment in Eusebius, that when the heresy of the Montanists was fixed and preached, "the faithful, in Asia, met together several times to examine it; and, upon examination, condemned it."<sup>b</sup> So also, when there were some heats in the church of Carthage about the restitution of the lapsed, Cyprian writes from his exile, that the lapsed should be patient till God had restored peace to the church, and then there should "be convened a synod of bishops, and of the laity who had stood firm during the persecution, to consult about and determine their affairs;"<sup>c</sup> which proposition was approved by Moses and Maximus, and other Roman confessors, who liked the "consulting of a synod of bishops, presbyters, deacons, confessors, and the standing laity;"<sup>d</sup> as also did the whole body of the clergy of the church of Rome, who were willing that that affair "of the lapsed should be determined by the common counsel of the bishops, presbyters, deacons,

<sup>a</sup> Ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ διάκονοι, καὶ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ex. Epist. Synod. apud Euseb. lib. 7, cap. 30, p. 279.

<sup>b</sup> Τῶν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν πιστῶν εἰς τοῦτο συνελθόντων, &c. Apud Euseb. lib. 5, cap. 16, p. 181.

<sup>c</sup> Ut episcopi plures in unum convenientes, præsente et stantium plebe—disponere omnia consilii communis religione possimus. Epist. 14, § 2, p. 41.

<sup>d</sup> Consultis omnibus episcopis, presbyteris, diaconis, confessoribus, et ipsis stantibus laicis. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 26, § 4, p. 60.

confessors and the standing laity."<sup>a</sup> And thus, at that great council held at Carthage, anno 258, there were present eighty-seven "bishops, together with presbyters, deacons, and a great part of the laity."<sup>b</sup>

§ 6. If it shall be demanded by whose authority and appointment synods were assembled, to this it will be replied, that it must necessarily have been by their own; because in those days there was no Christian magistrate to order or determine those affairs.

§ 7. When a synod was convened, before ever they entered upon any public causes, they chose out of the gravest and renownedest bishops amongst them, one, or sometimes two, to be their moderator or moderators; as at the council held at Carthage, anno 258, Cyprian was moderator thereof.<sup>c</sup> And so we read of the prolocutors of several synods that were assembled in divers parts of the world, to determine the controversies concerning Easter; as Victor, bishop of Rome, was prolocutor of a synod held there.<sup>d</sup> Palmas, bishop of Amastris, moderator of a synod held in Pontus; and Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, of another in France. Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, presided over a synod of Asiatic bishops;<sup>e</sup> and at a convocation in Palestina, there were two moderators,<sup>f</sup> viz., Theophilus, bishop of Cesarea, and Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem. The office and duty of a moderator was to preside in the synod, to see all things calmly and fairly debated and decreed; and, at the conclusion of any cause, to sum up what had been de-

<sup>a</sup> *Collatione consiliorum cum episcopis, presbyteris, diaconis, confessoribus, pariter ac stantibus laicis facta, lapsorum tractare rationem.* Apud Cyprian. Epist. 31, § 5, p. 70.

<sup>b</sup> *Episcopis plurimis—cum presbyteris et diaconis, præsente etiam plebis maxima parte.* Act. concil. Carthag. apud Cyprian. p. 443.

<sup>c</sup> Act. Concil. Carthag. ad calcem Oper. Cyprian.

<sup>d</sup> Apud Euseb. lib. 5, cap. 23, pp. 190, 191.

<sup>e</sup> Apud Euseb. lib. 5, cap. 24, p. 191.

<sup>f</sup> Apud Euseb. lib. 5, cap. 23, p. 190.

bated and urged on both sides, to take the votes and suffrages of the members of the synod ; and, last of all, to give his own. All this is evident in the proceedings of the council of Carthage, which are extant at the end of Cyprian's works, Cyprian being moderator of that council. After all things were read and finished relating to the question in hand, he sums up all, telling the synod what they had heard, and that nothing more remained to be done but the declaration of their judgment thereupon. Accordingly, thereunto the bishops gave their respective votes and decisions ; and, last of all, Cyprian, as president, gave in his.

§ 8. When the moderator was chosen, then they entered upon the consideration of the affairs that lay before them, which may be considered in a two-fold respect, either as relating to foreign churches, or to those churches only of whom they were the representatives. As for foreign churches, their determinations were not obligatory unto them, because they were not represented by them ; and so the chief matter they had to do with them was to give them their advice and counsel in any difficult point which they proposed to them ; as when the people of Astorga and Emerita, in Spain, had written to some African churches for their advice what to do with their two bishops who had lapsed in times of persecution : this case was debated in a synod held anno 258, whose opinion thereupon is to be seen in their synodical epistle, extant at large amongst the works of Cyprian, Epist. 68, p. 200.

§ 9. But with respect unto those particular churches whose representatives they were, their decrees were binding and obligatory, since the regulation and management of their affairs was the general end of their convening.

Various and many were the particular ends of these synodical conventions, as for the prevention of injustice and partiality in a parish consistory : as, suppose that

such a consistory had wrongfully and unrighteously censured one of their members, what should that censured person do unless appeal to the synod to have his cause heard there, as Felicissimus did; who, after he was excommunicated by his own parish, of which Cyprian was bishop, "had his cause heard before a synod, who ratified and confirmed the sentence of excommunication against him."<sup>a</sup> And, therefore, we may suppose it to be for the prevention of partiality and injustice that in Lesser Asia "offenders were usually absolved by the synod, which met every year."<sup>b</sup> Synods also were assembled for the examining, condemning, and excommunicating of all heretics within their limits, that so the faithful might avoid and shun them. As Paulus Samosatenus was condemned by the council of Antioch;<sup>c</sup> for resolving of all difficult points that did not wound the essentials of religion, or had relation unto the discipline of the church; as when there was some scruple about the time of baptizing of children, a synod of sixty-six bishops met together to decide it.<sup>d</sup> And so when there was some disputes concerning the martyr's power to restore the lapsed, "synods were to be assembled to decide them."<sup>e</sup> But why do I go about to reckon up particulars, when as they are endless? Let this suffice in general, that synods were convened for the regulation and management of all ecclesiastical affairs within their respective jurisdictions: as Firmilian writes, that in his country "the bishops and presbyters met together every year to

<sup>a</sup> Literas ad te collegæ nostri manu sua subscriptas miserunt, qui auditis eis, quid senserint, et quid pronunciaverint, ex eorum literis disces. Cyprian. Epist. 42, § 5, p. 99.

<sup>b</sup> Per singulos annos conveniamus—ut lapsis fratribus per poenitentiam medela quæretur. Firmil. apud Cyprian. Epist. 75, § 3, p. 236.

<sup>c</sup> Euseb. lib. 7, cap. 30, p. 279. <sup>d</sup> Apud Cyprian. Epist. 59, p. 162.

<sup>e</sup> In unum convenientes—disponere omnia possumus. Apud Cyp. Epist. 14, § 2, p. 41.

dispose those things which were committed to their charge.”<sup>a</sup> Here they consulted about the discipline, government, and external polity of their churches; and what means were expedient and proper for their peace, unity, and order; which by their common consent they enacted and decreed to be observed by all the faithful of those churches whom they did represent.

He who denies this must be very little acquainted with the ancient councils, especially those which were held after the emperors became Christians. The reason why we find not more synodical decrees of the three first centuries comes not from that they judicially determined none, or required not the observance of them; but from that either they were not careful, or the fury and violence of the times would not permit them to transmit them down to their successors; or through the length of time they are lost, and scarce any thing besides the name of such synods are now remembered; and of multitudes neither names nor decrees are to be found; but yet there is enough escaped the fury of persecution, and the length of time, to convince us that those synods did decree those things which they judged expedient for the polity, discipline, and government of those particular churches that were within their respective provinces, and required them to be observed by all the members thereof.

Thus we find these following canons determined by several synods in Africa, viz.:—

“That though a delinquent had not endured the whole time of penance, yet if he was very sick, and in danger of death, he should be absolved.”<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Ut per singulos annos seniores et præpositi in unum conveniamus, ad disponenda ea quæ curæ nostræ commissa sunt. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75, § 3, p. 236.

<sup>b</sup> Statueramus—Si periculum infirmitatis urget, pacem sub ictu mortis acciperent. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 54, § 1, p. 132.

"That at the approach of a persecution, penitent offenders should be restored to the church's peace."<sup>a</sup>

"That penance should not be hastily passed over, or absolution be rashly and speedily given."<sup>b</sup>

"That all lapsed and apostate clergymen should, upon their repentance, be only admitted to communion as laymen, and be never more capable of discharging or performing any ecclesiastical function."<sup>c</sup>

"That no clergyman should be a curator or trustee of a last will or testament."<sup>d</sup>

And many other such like synodical decrees relating to the discipline and polity of the church are to be met with in Cyprian, which were ever accounted obligatory to all those parishes who lived within those respective provinces, and had their representatives in those respective synods; for to what purpose else did they decree them? It had been fruitless and ridiculous to have made frequent and wearisome journeys, with great cost and pains, to have debated and determined those things which they judged expedient for the church's well-being, if, after all, it was indifferent whether they were obeyed or not.

But that their decrees were binding is adjudged by an African synod of sixty-six bishops, held anno 254, "who sharply rebuked a certain bishop called Therapius, for breaking the canons of a synod, and absolving a certain presbyter called Victor, before the time appointed by that

<sup>a</sup> Censuimus—Pacem dandam esse, et eos ad prælium, quod imminet, armari et instrui oportere. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 54, § 1, p. 132.

<sup>b</sup> Ante legitimum et plenum tempus satisfactionis—pax ei concederetur. Cyprian. Epist. 59, § 1, p. 164.

<sup>c</sup> Decrevit ejusmodi homines ad pœnitentiam quidem agendam posse admitti, ab ordinatione autem cleri atque sacerdotali honore prohiberi. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 68, § 7, p. 202.

<sup>d</sup> Statutum sit, ne quis de clericis et dei ministris tutorem vel curatorem testamento suo constituat. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 96, § 1, p. 195.

synod was expired."<sup>a</sup> Probably the breaker of those canons was to have been deposed or suspended, or some other severe punishment inflicted on him, since the bishops of this synod speak as if they had moderated the rigour of the canons against Therapius, in that "they were contented only with chiding him for his rashness, and with strictly charging him that he should do so no more."<sup>b</sup>

So another synod in Africa decreed, that "if any one should name a clergyman in his last will and testament for his trustee, no sacrifice should be offered for him after his death."<sup>c</sup> What the meaning of this offering of sacrifice after his death is, I shall not show here, since I must treat of it in another place. Accordingly, when Geminus Victor, bishop of Furnis, had, by his last will and testament constituted Geminus Faustinus, a presbyter, his trustee, Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, wrote unto the clergy and laity of Furnis touching this matter, wherein he informs them, "that he and his colleagues were very much offended that Geminus Victor had thus broken the canons of the synod; but that since he had done it, he hoped they would take care that he should suffer the penalty annexed to the breach thereof, that in conformity thereunto they would not mention him in their prayers, or make any oblation for him, that so the decree of the bishops, which was religiously and necessarily made, might be observed by them."<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Victori antequam pœnitentiam plenam egisset, temerè Therapius, pacem dedit, quæ res nos satis movet, recessum esse à decreti nostri auctoritate. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 59, § 1, p. 164.

<sup>b</sup> Satisfuit objurgare Therapium—quod temere hoc fecerit, et instruxisse ne quid tale de cætero faciat. Ibidem.

<sup>c</sup> Censuerunt ne quis frater excedens, ad tutelam vel curam clericum nominaret; ac si quis hoc fecisset, non offerretur pro eo, nec sacrificium pro dormitione ejus celebraretur. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 66, § 2, p. 195.

<sup>d</sup> Graviter commoti sumus ego et collegæ mei, et ideo Victor, cum contra formam nuper in concilio à sacerdotibus datum, Geminium Fau-



To these two instances we may add that of **Martialis** and **Basilides**, two Spanish bishops, who, for their falling into idolatry in times of persecution were deprived of their ecclesiastical functions, and adjudged never more to be admitted to the church's communion in any other quality than that of laymen, which rigorous sentence an African synod defends, "from the authority of a general council, who had before decreed, that such men should only be admitted to repentance, but be for ever excluded from all clerical and sacerdotal dignities."<sup>a</sup>

*stinum presbyterum ausus sit tutorem constituere, non est quod pro dormitione ejus apud vos fiat oblatio, aut deprecatio aliqua nomine ejus in ecclesia frequentetur, ut sacerdotum decretum religiose et necessarè factum servetur à nobis. Ibidem. § 1, 2, p. 195.*

<sup>a</sup> *Maximè cum jampridem decretum est, ejusmodi homines ad penitentiam quidem agendam posse admitti, ab ordinatione autem cleri atque sacerdotali honore prohiberi. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 68, § 8, p. 202.*

## CHAPTER IX.

§ 1. Of the unity of the church, of schism, defined to be a breach of that unity. The unity of the church, and consequently the breach of it, to be differently understood, according to the various significations of the word church. § 2. The unity of the church universal considered negatively and positively; negatively, it consisted not in a uniformity of rites, nor in a unanimity of consent to the non-essential points of Christianity. The rigid imposers thereof condemned as cruel and tyrannical. § 3. Positively, it consisted in a harmonious assent to the essential articles of faith. The non-agreement therein called schism, but not the schism of the ancients. § 4. How the unity of a church collective was broken; this neither the schism of the ancients. § 5. The unity of a particular church consisted in two things, in the members' love and amity each toward other, and in the people's close adherence to their bishop, or parish church; the breach of the former sometimes called schism. § 6. The breach of the latter, which was a causeless separation from their bishop, the schism of the ancients. In how many cases it was lawful for the people to separate from their bishop. § 7. A separation under any other pretence whatsoever was that which the fathers generally and principally meant by schism, proved so to have been. § 8. Farther proved from Ignatius. § 9. Exemplified in the schism of Felicissimus and Novatian. § 10. An objection answered touching the schism of Novatian. How the schism of one particular church affected other churches. § 11. A summary and conclusion of this discourse concerning schism.

§ 1. HAVING in the precedent chapters discoursed of the constitution and discipline of the primitive church, I come now in this to treat of the unity thereof, which I had a very great inclination to search into, since by the due understanding thereof we shall the better apprehend the notion of the ancients concerning schism, because that schism is nothing else but a breach of that unity, as will most evidently appear from the quotations that we shall be forced to make use of in this chapter.

Now that we may know what the breach of the unity of the church was, it is absolutely necessary first to know

what the unity itself was ; for, till we understand its unity, it is impossible that we should understand the breach thereof.

Now for the distinct apprehending hereof we must remember the various acceptations of the word church, as they are related in the beginning of this treatise, and, according to the different significations thereof, so must its unity be diversified, or be differently understood ; and according to the different manner of its unity, so must we apprehend the breach thereof.

§ 2. If, in the first place, we reflect upon the word CHURCH, as signifying the church universal, or all those who, throughout the whole earth, profess faith in Christ, then we may consider its unity in this sense either negatively, wherein it did not consist ; or positively, wherein it did exist.

Negatively, it consisted not in a uniformity of rites and customs ; for every particular church was at liberty to follow its own proper usages : one church was not obliged to observe the rites of another, but every one followed its own peculiar customs. Thus with respect to their fast before Easter, there was a great diversity in the observation of it ; “ in some churches they fasted one day, in others two, in some more, and in others forty hours ; but yet still they retained peace and concord, the diversity of their customs commending the unity of their faith.”<sup>a</sup> So also the feast of Easter itself was variously celebrated. The Asiatic churches kept it on a distinct day from the Europeans, but yet still they “ retained peace and love, and for the diversity of such customs none were ever cast

<sup>a</sup> Οἱ μὲν γὰρ οἶονται μίαν ἡμέραν δεῖν αὐτοὺς νηστεύειν, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείονας, οἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ὥρας ἡμερινὰς τε καὶ νυκτερινὰς συμμετροῦσι τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν πάντες οὗτοι εἰρήνευσαν ἢ διαφωνία τῆς νηστείας τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τῆς πίστεως συνίστασι. Iren. apud Euseb. lib. 5, cap. 24, p. 198.

out of the communion of the church."<sup>a</sup> So likewise writes Firmilian, "that in most provinces their rites were varied according to the diversities of names and places, and that for this no one ever departed from the peace and unity of the catholic church."<sup>b</sup> So that the unity of the church universal consisted not in a uniformity of rites and usages.

Neither, in the next place, did it consist in a unanimity of consent to the non-essential points of Christianity, but every one was left to believe in those lesser matters as God should inform him. Therefore Justin Martyr, speaking of those Jewish converts who had adhered to the Mosaic rites, says, that if they did this only through their weakness and imbecility, and did not persuade other Christians to the observance of the same Judaical customs, that "he would receive them into church fellowship and communion."<sup>c</sup>

Whosoever imposed on particular churches the observance of the former of these two things, or on particular persons the belief of the latter, they were esteemed not as preservers and maintainers, but as violaters and breakers of the church's unity and concord.

An instance of the former we have in that controversy between the churches of the east and west touching the time when Easter was to be celebrated. For when Victor, bishop of Rome, had excommunicated the eastern churches because they continued to observe that feast on a different time from the churches of the west, not only the bishops of the adverse party, but even those of his own

<sup>a</sup> *Ἐιρήνευον καὶ οὐδέποτε διὰ τὸ εἶδος τοῦτο ἀπεβλήθησαν τινες.* Iren. apud Euseb. lib. 5, cap. 24, p. 193.

<sup>b</sup> *In plurimis provinciis multa pro locorum et nominum diversitate variantur, nec tamen propter hoc ab ecclesiæ catholicæ pace atque unitate aliquando discessum est.* Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75, § 5, p. 237.

<sup>c</sup> *Προσλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ κοινωνεῖν ἁπαντων ὡς ὁμοσπλάγχθους καὶ ἀδελφοὺς δεῖν.* Dialog. cum Tryphon. p. 266.

side, condemned him as rash, heady, and turbulent, and wrote several letters about this affair, wherein, as the historian writes, "they most sharply censured him."<sup>a</sup>

As for the latter, we have an instance thereof in the controversy that was between Stephen, bishop of Rome, and Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, touching the validity of heretics' baptism. For when Stephen anathematized Cyprian because he held the baptism of heretics to be null and void, other bishops condemned Stephen as a breaker and disturber of the church's peace. And amongst others, Firmilian, a Cappadocian bishop, vehemently accuses him as such, because that he would impose upon others the belief of such a disputable point, which, says he, was never wont to be done, but "every church followed their own different ways, and never therefore broke the unity and peace of the catholic church, which now," saith he, "Stephen dares to do, and breaks that peace which the ancient bishops always preserved in mutual love and honour."<sup>b</sup> And therefore we find in the acts of that great council of Carthage convened to determine this matter, that when Cyprian summoned up the debates thereof, he dehorts his fellow bishops from the imposing humour and temper of Stephen: "It now remains," saith he, "that every one of us declare our judgments concerning this matter, judging no man, or removing any one from our communion, if he think otherwise than we do; for let none of us make himself a bishop of bishops, or, by a tyrannical terror, compel his colleagues to the necessity of obeying."<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Πληκτικώτερον καθαπτομένων. Euseb. lib. 5, cap. 24, p. 193.

<sup>b</sup> Multa pro locorum et nominum diversitate variantur, nec tamen propter hoc ab ecclesiæ catholicæ pace atque unitate aliquando discessum est. Quod nunc Stephanus ausus est facere, rumpens adversum vos pacem, quam semper antecessores ejus vobiscum amore et honore mutuo custodierunt.

<sup>c</sup> Superest ut de hac ipsa re singuli, quid sentiamus, proferamus, neminem judicantes, aut à jure communionis aliquem, si diversum senserit,

So that the forcing a belief in these lesser matters was cruelty and tyranny in the imposers thereof, who, for such unreasonable practices, were looked upon as enemies to, and violators of, the church's concord, being the true schismatics, inasmuch as they were the cause of schism and division; unto whom therefore may be applied that saying of Irenæus, "That at the last day, Christ shall judge those who cause schisms, who are inhumane, not having the fear of God, but preferring their own advantage before the unity of the church, for trivial and slight causes rend and divide the great and glorious body of Christ, and, as much as in them lies, destroy it; who speak peace, but wage war, truly straining at a gnat, and swallowing a camel."<sup>a</sup>

§ 3. But, positively, the unity of the church universal consisted in a harmonious assent to the essential articles of religion, or in a unanimous agreement in the fundamentals of faith and doctrine. Thus Irenæus, having recited a creed, or a short summary of the Christian faith, not much unlike to the apostles' creed, immediately adds, "The church having received this faith and doctrine, although dispersed through the whole world, diligently preserves it, as though she inhabited but one house, and accordingly she believes these things as though she had but one soul and one heart, and consonantly preaches and teaches these things as though she had but one mouth; for although there are various languages in the world, yet

*amoventes. Neque enim quisquam nostrum episcopum se esse episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit. Concil. Carthag. apud Cyprian. p. 443.*

<sup>a</sup> *Judicabit eos qui schismata operantur, qui sunt immanes, non habentes Dei dilectionem, suamque utilitatem potius considerantes, quam unitatem ecclesiæ, propter modicas et quaslibet causas magnum et gloriosum corpus Christi concindunt et dividunt, et quantum in ipsis est, interficiunt, pacem loquentes, et bellum operantes, verè liquantes culicem et camelum transglutientes. Lib. 4, cap. 62, p. 292.*

the doctrine is one and the same ; so that the churches in Germany, France, Asia, Egypt, or Libya, have not a different faith ; but as the sun is one and the same to all the creatures of God in the whole world, so the preaching of the word is a light that enlightens everywhere, and illuminates all men that would come to the knowledge of the truth."<sup>a</sup> Now this bond of unity was broken when there was a recession from, or a corruption of, the true faith and doctrine, as Irenæus speaks concerning Tatian, the father of the Encratites, that as long as his master, Justin Martyr, lived, he held the sound faith, but after his death, "falling off from the church,"<sup>b</sup> he shaped that new form of doctrine. This unity of the church in doctrine, according to Hegesippus, continued till the days of Simeon Cleopas, bishop of Jerusalem, who was martyred under Trajan ; but after that false teachers prevailed, such as the Simonians, Marcionists, Valentinians, and others, "from whom sprung false Christs, false apostles, and false prophets, who, by their corrupt doctrines against God and his Christ, divided the unity of the church."<sup>c</sup> So that the unity of the church universal consisted in an agreement

<sup>a</sup> Hanc igitur prædicationem et hanc fidem adepta ecclesia quamvis dispersa in universo mundo, diligenter conservat, acsi in una eademque domo habitaret ; ac similiter iis fidem habet, acsi unam animam unusque et idem cor haberet : atque uno consensu hæc prædicat, docet, ac tradit, acsi uno ore prædita esset. Quamvis enim dissimilia sint in mundo genera linguarum, una tamen eademque est vis traditionis ; nec quæ constitutæ sunt in Germania ecclesiæ aliter credunt aut tradunt, nec quæ in Hispaniis, neque in Galliis, neque in Oriente, neque in Ægypto, neque in Libya, aut in medio orbis terrarum fundatæ sunt. Sed quemadmodum sol creatura Dei unus et idem est in universo mundo, ita et prædicatio veritatis ubique lucet, et illuminat omnes homines qui ad notionem veritatis venire volunt. Lib. 1, cap. 3, p. 36.

<sup>b</sup> Ἀποῦς τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Apud Euseb. lib. 4, cap. 29, p. 150.

<sup>c</sup> Ἀπὸ τούτων ψευδόχριστοι, ψευδοπροφῆται, ψευδαπόστολοι, αἵτινες ἐμέρισαν τὴν ἐνωσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας φθοριμαίοις λόγοις κατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αἵτιοι. Apud Euseb. lib. 4, cap. 22, p. 142.

of doctrine, and the corruption of that doctrine was a breach of that unity, and whoever so broke it, are said to divide and separate the unity of the church, or, which is all one, to be schismatics. So Irenæus writes, that those that introduced new doctrines "did divide and separate the unity of the church."<sup>a</sup> And Cyprian writes, that "the devil found out heresies and schisms, by which he might subvert the faith, corrupt the truth, and divide the unity."<sup>b</sup> But now, for distinction's sake, the breach of this unity was commonly called heresy, and the word schism generally applied to the breach of the church's unity in another sense, of which more in other sections.

§ 4. If, in the next place, we consider the word church collectively, as denoting a collection of many particular churches, in which sense it is once used in Cyprian,<sup>c</sup> then its unity may have consisted in a brotherly correspondence with, and affection toward each other, which they demonstrated by all outward expressions of love and concord, as by receiving to communion the members of each other, as Irenæus<sup>d</sup> mentions, was observed between the churches of Rome and Asia; in mutually advising and assisting one another by letters, or otherwise, of which there are frequent instances in the ancients, and especially in Cyprian's epistles; and in manifesting all other marks and tokens of their love and concord. Now this unity was broken, when particular churches clashed with each other; when, from being possessed with spirits of meekness, love, and charity, they were inflamed with hatred, rage, and fury

<sup>a</sup> Scindunt et separant unitatem ecclesiarum. Lib. 4, cap. 43, p. 378.

<sup>b</sup> Diabolus hæreses invenit et schismata, quibus subverteret fidem, veritatem corrumpere, scinderet unitatem. De Unitate Ecclesiarum, § 2, p. 396.

<sup>c</sup> In provincia Africa et Numidia ecclesiam Domini. Epist. 71, § 4, p. 214.

<sup>d</sup> Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 24, p. 193.



against each other. A sad instance whereof we have in the controversy betwixt Cyprian and Stephen, or rather between the churches of Europe and Africa, touching the validity of heretical baptism, wherein those good men were so far transported with bitterness and rancour against each other, that they interchangeably gave such harsh language and invidious epithets as are too odious to name, which if the reader be curious to know, he may find too much of it in Cyprian's epistles.

Or if several particular churches had, for the promotion of peace, unity, and order, regularly disposed themselves into a synodical government and discipline, as was always done when their circumstances and conveniences would permit them; then whoever broke or violated their reasonable canons, were censured as turbulent and factious, as it hath been evidenced in the former chapter, and needs no farther proof in this, because that the schism of the ancients was not a breach of the church's unity in this sense; viz., as denoting or signifying a church collective.

§ 5. But schism principally and originally respected a particular church or parish, though it might consequentially influence others too. Now the unity of a particular church consisted in the members' love and amity toward each other, and in their due subjection or subordination to their pastor or bishop: accordingly the breach of that unity consisted in these two things, either in a hatred and malice of each other, or, in a rebellion against their lawful pastor, or, which is all one, in a causeless separation from their bishop and those that adhered to him.

As for the first of these, there might be envies and discords between the inhabitants of a parish, without a formal separation from communion, which jars and feuds were called schism; an instance whereof we find in the church of Corinth, unto whom St. Paul objected in 1 Cor. xi, 18, "When ye come together in the church, I hear that there

be divisions," or, as it is in the original, *oxiōpara*, schisms, "amongst you." Here there was no separate communion, for they all came together in the church, and yet there were schisms amongst them, that is, strifes, quarrels, and discords. And as far as I can perceive from the epistle of Clemens Romanus, which was written to appease another schism in the same church of Corinth, there were then only turmoils and differences, without any actual separation. But on this I shall not enlarge, because it is not what the ancients ordinarily meant by schism.

§ 6. But that which they generally and commonly termed schism was, a rebellion against, or an ungrounded and causeless separation from, their lawful pastor, or their parish church. Now because I say that a causeless separation from their bishop was schism, it will be necessary to know how many causes could justify the people's desertion of their pastor; and these, I think, were two, or, at most, three: the first was apostacy from the faith, or when a bishop renounced the Christian faith, and through fear of persecution embraced the heathenish idolatries, as was done in the case of Martialis and Basilides, two Spanish bishops,<sup>a</sup> and was justified by an African synod, as is to be seen throughout their whole synodical epistle, still extant amongst those of Cyprian's; the second cause was heresy, as Irenæus saith, "We must fly far off from all heretics."<sup>b</sup> And Origen allows the people to separate from their bishop "if they could accuse him of false and heretical doctrine."<sup>c</sup>

A third cause was a scandalous and wicked life, as is

<sup>a</sup> Basilidem et Martialem libellis idololatriæ commaculatos—episcopatum gerere, et sacerdotium Dei administrare non oportere. *Epist. Synod. apud Cyprian. Epist. 68, § 1, p. 200.*

<sup>b</sup> Oportet longe fugere ab eis. *Lib. 1, cap. 13, p. 63.*

<sup>c</sup> Si habueris accusationem doctrinæ pessimæ, et alienorum ab ecclesia dogmatum. *Homil. 7 in Ezechiel.*

asserted by an African synod held anno 258, whose exhortations and arguments to this purpose may be seen at large in their synodical epistle, still extant in Cyprian, *Epist.* lxxviii, p. 200, out of which several passages pertinent to this occasion have been already cited in the sixth chapter of this treatise, to which I must refer the reader. Of this mind also was Irenæus before them, who writes, "That as for those presbyters who serve their pleasures, and have not the fear of God before their eyes, who contumeliously use others, are lifted up with pride, and secretly commit wickedness, from all such presbyters we ought to separate."<sup>a</sup> Origen indeed seems to be of another mind, and thinks that the bishop's immorality in life could not justify his parish's separation. "He," saith he, "that hath a care of his soul, will not be scandalized at my faults, who am his bishop, but, considering my doctrine, and finding it agreeable to the church's faith, from me indeed he will be averse, but he will receive my doctrine according to the precept of the Lord, which saith, 'The scribes and Pharisees sit on Moses his chair; whatever, therefore, they say unto you, hear and do; but according unto their works do not, for they say and do not:;' that scripture is of me, who teach what is good, and do the contrary, and sit upon the chair of Moses as a scribe or Pharisee; the precept is to thee, O people; if thou canst not accuse me of false doctrine, or heretical opinions, but only beholdest my wicked and sinful life; thou must not square thy life according to my life, but do those things which I speak."<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Qui vero presbyteri serviunt suis voluptatibus, et non præponunt timorem Dei in cordibus suis, sed contumeliis agunt reliquos, et principalis consessionis tumore elati sunt, et in absconsis agunt mala—ab omnibus talibus absistere oportet. Lib. 4, cap. 44, p. 278.

<sup>b</sup> Qui curam habet vitæ suæ, non meis delictis qui videor in ecclesia prædicare scandalizabitur, sed ipsum dogma considerans, et pertractans ecclesiæ fidem, à me quidem aversabitur, doctrinam vero suscipiet, se-

Now whether Irenæus and an African synod, or Origen, be to be most credited, I leave the learned to judge, though I think they may be both nearer reconciled than they seem to be; Irenæus, and that synod, affirming that the people, of their own power and authority, might immediately, without the concurrent assent of other churches, upon the immorality and scandal of their bishop, leave and desert him; Origen restraining the people from present execution, till they had the authority of a synod for so doing; for thus he must be understood, or else he will contradict all other writers, it being avouched by all, that synods did depose all those bishops that were guilty of criminal and scandalous enormities, as Privatus, bishop of Lambese, was deposed by a synod of ninety bishops, "for his many and heinous crimes."<sup>a</sup>

§ 7. But now, excepting these three causes of apostacy, heresy, and immorality, it was schism in a parish to leave their minister, or to set up another bishop against him; for though they at first chose their bishop, yet, their bishop being, on their choice, approved and confirmed by the neighbouring bishops, they could not dethrone him without truly assigning one of those forementioned causes; for this was to gather a church out of a church, to erect a new altar and a new bishop, which could not be in one church; for, as Cyprian writes, "God is one, Christ is one, the church is one, the rock on which the church is built is one;

cundum præceptum Domini, qui ait, supra cathedram Moysi sederunt scribæ et Pharisei, omnia enim quæcunque vobis dicunt audite et facite, juxta autem opera illorum nolite facere; dicunt quippe et non faciunt: iste sermo de me est, qui bona doceo, et contraria gero, et sum sedens supra cathedram Moysi quasi scriba et Phariseus; præceptum tibi est, O popule, si non habueris accusationem doctrinæ pessimæ, et alienorum ab ecclesia dogmatum, conspexeris vero meam culpabilem vitam, atque peccata, ut non habeas juxta dicentis vitam tuam instituere, sed ea facere quæ loquor. Homil. 7 in Ezechiel.

<sup>a</sup> Ob multa et graviora delicta. Cyprian. Epist. 55, § 11, p. 140.

wherefore, to erect a new altar, and constitute a new bishop, besides the one altar and the one bishop, is impracticable; whosoever gathers here, scatters; so to do is adulterous, impious, sacrilegious, mad, and wicked."<sup>a</sup> "From hence," says Cyprian, "schisms do arise, that the bishop is not obeyed; and it is not considered that there ought to be but one bishop, and one judge in a church at a time."<sup>b</sup> And, "This is the rise and source of schismatics, that through their swelling pride they condemn their bishop, and so they go off from the church, so they erect a profane altar, and so they rebel against the peace of Christ, and the ordination and unity of God."<sup>c</sup> And again, "From thence proceed schisms, that the bishop, who is but one, and presides over the church, is condemned by the proud presumption of men; and he that was thought worthy by God, is esteemed unworthy by men."<sup>d</sup> And again, "The church is the people united to their bishop, and the sheep adhering to their pastor; the bishop is in

<sup>a</sup> Deus unus est, et Christus unus, et una ecclesia, et cathedra una supra petrum Domini voce fundata; aliud altare constitui, aut sacerdotium novum fieri, præter unum altare et unum sacerdotium, non potest: quisquis alibi collegerit, spargit, adulterum est, impium est, quodcumque humano furore instituitur, ut dispositio divina violetur. Epist. 40, § 4, p. 93.

<sup>b</sup> Neque enim aliunde nata sunt schismata, quàm inde quod sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos, et ad tempus iudex vice Christi cogitatur. Epist. 55, § 6, p. 138.

<sup>c</sup> Hi sunt ortus atque conatus schismaticorum malè cogitantium ut sibi placeant, ut præpositum superbo tumore contemnunt, sic de ecclesia receditur, sic altare profanum foris collocatur, sic contra pacem Christi, et ordinationem atque unitatem Dei rebellatur. Epist. 65, § 4, p. 193.

<sup>d</sup> Inde schismata et hæreses obortæ sunt, et oriuntur, dum episcopus qui unus est, et ecclesiæ præest, superba quorundam præsumptione contemnitur, et homo dignatione Dei honoratus indignus hominibus judicatur. Epist. 69, § 4, p. 208.

the church, and the church in the bishop. Whosoever are not with the bishop are not in the church; and those do in vain flatter themselves, who, having not peace with God's priests, creep about and privately communicate with some, as they think, when the catholic church is not divided, but connexed and coupled together by the unity of its agreeing bishops."<sup>a</sup> Whosoever, therefore, should causelessly desert his bishop, and solicit others so to do, was a true schismatic, since, in so doing, "he divided a portion of the flock with the bishop, separated the sheep from their pastor, and dissipated the members of Christ."<sup>b</sup>

From these quotations, then, it is apparent, that the primitive schism respected only a particular church, and consisted in a person's separation from communion with his lawful bishop without a just and authentic cause; when any one should set up a particular church in a particular church, in opposition to the lawful bishop thereof, and should draw away the inhabitants of that parish from the communion of their legal minister, setting up distinct meetings and "conventicles,"<sup>c</sup> as Cyprian calls them. This was true schism; for, as Ignatius says, whosoever so assembled, "were not congregated legally accord-

<sup>a</sup> Illi sunt ecclesia plebs sacerdoti adunata, et pastori suo grex adherens, unde scire debes episcopum in ecclesia esse, et ecclesiam in episcopo, et si qui cum episcopo non sunt, in ecclesia non esse, et frustra sibi blandiri eos, qui pacem cum sacerdotibus Dei non habentes obrepunt, et latenter apud quosdam communicare se credunt, quando ecclesia, quæ catholica una est, scissa non sit, neque divisa, sed sit utique connexa, et coherentium sibi invicem sacerdotum glutino copulata. Epist. 69, § 7, p. 209.

<sup>b</sup> Cum episcopo portionem plebis dividere, id est, à pastore oves, et filios à parente separare, et Christi membra dissipare. Epist. 38, § 1, p. 90.

<sup>c</sup> Conventicula sibi diversa constituunt. De Unitat. Eccles. § 10, p. 209.

ing to the command :<sup>a</sup> and “ whosoever officiated without the bishop, sacrificed to the devil.”<sup>b</sup>

§ 8. This notion now of schism gives us a clear reason why we find in Ignatius so frequent and pathetic injunctions of obedience to, and unity with, our respective pastors, of avoiding all divisions, and closely adhering to them ; because a deserting of them, or a separating from them, was a commission of this horrid and detestable sin of schism, as will appear from these following exhortations and instructions of his, with which every leaf almost of his epistles are fraught and furnished :—“ All you of the church of Smyrna obey your bishop as Jesus Christ did the Father, and the presbytery as the apostles ; and honour the deacons according to the command of God. Let nothing of ecclesiastical services be done without the bishop. Let that communion only be esteemed valid which is performed by the bishop, or by one permitted by him. Wherever the bishop is, there let the people be ; as where Jesus Christ is, there the catholic church is. It is not lawful without the bishop, or one permitted by him, to baptize, or celebrate the eucharist. This is pleasing unto God ; that so, whatsoever is done may be firm and legal.”<sup>c</sup> “ Have respect unto your bishop, as God hath respect unto you. My soul for theirs that obey their bishop, presby-

<sup>a</sup> Μη βεβαίως κατ' εντολήν συναθροίσεσθαι. Ad Magnes. p. 32.

<sup>b</sup> Ο λάθρα επισκόπου τι πράσσω, τῷ διαβόλῳ λάτρευει. Epist. ad Smyrn. p. 7.

<sup>c</sup> Πάντες τῷ επισκόπῳ ἀκολουθεῖτε, ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις· τοὺς δὲ διακόνους ἐντρέπεσθε ὡς Θεοῦ ἐντολήν. Μηδεὶς χωρὶς τοῦ επισκόπου τι πρᾶσσει τῶν ἀναγκῶν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐκεῖνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγεσθῶ, ἣ ἐπὶ τὸν επισκόπον οὐσα, ἣ ὧς ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ· ὅπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ επισκόπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔσῳ, ὥσπερ ὅπου ἂν ᾖ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία· οὐκ ἔξω ἐξῶ χωρὶς τοῦ επισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν, οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ὧς ἂν ἐκεῖνος δοκιμάσῃ, τοῦτο καὶ τῷ Θεῷ εὐάρεστον, ἵνα ἀσφαλὲς ᾖ καὶ βέβαιον πᾶν ὁ πράσσεται. Epist. ad Smyrn. p. 6.

ters, and deacons, and with them let my part in God be."<sup>a</sup> "Let us not resist our bishop, lest we be found resisters of God."<sup>b</sup> "I exhort you to do every thing in the unity of God, the bishop presiding in the place of God, and the presbyters in the place of the council of the apostles, and the deacons performing the intrusted ministry of Jesus Christ. Let there nothing be in you that may divide you, but be united to your bishop and presidents. As, therefore, Christ did nothing without the Father, being united to him, neither by himself, nor by his apostles, so do you nothing without the bishop and presbyters, nor privately withdraw from them, but assemble together, having one prayer, one supplication, one mind, and one hope."<sup>c</sup> "Flee all division; where the pastor is, there as sheep follow; for there are many plausible wolves that seek to carry you away; but let them have no place in your unity. Whosoever are God's and Jesus Christ's, they are with the bishop; and whosoever repenting shall come to the unity of the church, those shall be God's, that they may live according to Jesus Christ. Be not deceived, my brethren, if any one follows a schismatic, or one that causeth division and separation, he shall not inherit the kingdom of

<sup>a</sup> Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε ἵνα καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῖν· ἀντιψύχον ἐγὼ τῶν ὑποτασσομένων τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, πρεσβυτέροις, διάκονοις· καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν μοὶ τὸ μέρος γένοιτο σχεῖν ἐν Θεῷ. Epist. ad Polycarp. p. 14.

<sup>b</sup> Μὴ ἀντιτάσσεσθαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ἵνα ὡμεν Θεοῦ ὑποτασσόμενοι. Ad Ephes. p. 20.

<sup>c</sup> Παρακαλῶ ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ Θεοῦ σπουδάζετε πάντα πράσσειν προκαθημένου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τόπον Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τόπον συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν διακόνων—πεπιγευμένων διακονίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ—μηδὲν ἔγω ἐν ὑμῖν ὁ δυνήσεται ὑμᾶς μερῖσαι, ἀλλ' ἐνώθητε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς προκαθημένοις—ὥστε οὖν ὁ κύριος ἀνεὺ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἐποίησε ἡνώμενος ὢν, οὔτε δι' ἑαυτοῦ οὔτε διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων, οὕτως μηδὲ ὑμεῖς ἀνεὺ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μηδὲν πράσσητε, μηδὲ πειράσσητε εὐλογῶν τὸ φαίνεσθαι ἰδία ὑμῖν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μία προσευχὴ, μία δεήσις, εἰς νοῦς, μία ἐλπίς. Epist. ad Magnesios, p. 33.



God.”<sup>a</sup> “Respect the bishop, presbyters, and deacons; do nothing without the bishop; keep your flesh as the temple of God; love unity, avoid schisms; be followers of Jesus Christ, as he was of his Father. Where division and wrath is, God dwells not. God, therefore, pardons all penitents, if they penitentially return to the unity of God and the presbytery of the bishop.”<sup>b</sup> And some other such like expressions there are in the epistles of this father, which evidently demonstrate schism to be nothing else than a causeless separation from our parish bishop or minister, and a wandering after, or an adhesion to, another false and pretended pastor.

§ 9. But for the clearer proof that this was what the fathers meant by schism, it may not be altogether unnecessary to add unto these quotations an example or two; for examples more convincingly instruct than bare testimonies and citations. And here let us first view the schism of Felicissimus in the church of Carthage, as it is related in the 38th, 40th, and 55th epistles of Cyprian; and we shall find it respecting only that particular church or parish. When Cyprian was elected bishop of Carthage, Felicissimus and others of his faction opposed him; but,

<sup>a</sup> Φεύγετε δὲ τὸν μέρισμον—ὅπου δὲ ὁ ποιμὴν ἐστὶν ἐκεῖ ὡς πρόβατα ἀκολουθεῖτε, πόλλοι γὰρ λύκοι ἀξιόπιστοι ἡδονὴ κακῇ αἰχμαλωτίζουσιν τοὺς θεοδρόμους, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ ἐνότητι ὑμῶν οὐκ ἐξούσιν τόπον, ὅσοι γὰρ Θεοῦ εἰσὶν καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ οὗτοι μετὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσὶν, καὶ ὅσα ἂν μετανοήσαντες ἔλθωσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐνότητα τῆς ἐκκλησίας οὗτοι Θεοῦ ἔσονται ἵνα ὥσιν κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ζῶντες. Μὴ πλανᾶσθε ἀδελφοί μου, εἰ τις σχίζειν ἀκολουθεῖ βασιλείαν Θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομεῖ Epiat. ad Philadelph. p. 40.

<sup>b</sup> Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ διακόνοις, χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ποιεῖτε, τὴν σάρκα ὑμῶν ὡς ναὸν Θεοῦ τηρεῖτε, τὴν ἐνωσιν ἀγαπάτε, τοὺς μερισμοὺς φεύγετε, μιμηταὶ γίνεσθε Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, οὐ δὲ μέρισμος ἐστὶν καὶ ὁργή, Θεὸς οὐ κατοικεῖ, πῶσιν οὖν μετανοήσιν ἀφίει ὁ Κύριος, ἐν μετανοήσῳ εἰς ἐνότητα Θεοῦ καὶ συνέδριον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου. Ibid. p. 43.

finding themselves too weak, and not powerful enough to balance his interest, they yielded to his promotion, but yet still retained a hatred against his person, and waited for a more favourable opportunity, and a plausible pretence to separate from him. It pleased God that Cyprian, some time after his advancement, was forced, by reason of the persecution, to withdraw and absent from his flock; during which absence that faction made use of all means to lessen his interest, till they had made their party indifferently strong, and then they broke out into an open separation from him, forming themselves into a distinct meeting, creating a new bishop, erecting a new altar, and constituting a new church. Now all this was acted in and respected only the particular parish of Carthage, without causing or attempting any separation in any other church or parish; and yet this Cyprian calls schism, and excommunicates the actors in it as schismatics and breakers of the unity of the church, of his church actually, and of all the other churches of the church universal virtually; who, like the members of the natural body, are affected with the pains and convulsions of each other.

So also the famous schism of Novatian respected only the particular church of Rome, being no other than his causeless separation from Cornelius, his lawful bishop, and his erecting separate conventicles against him, as may be read at large in those epistles of Cyprian that treat of this affair, and his book "*De Unitate Ecclesiæ*."

§ 10. But I foresee an evident objection against this restrained notion of schism; and, in particular, from the schism of Novatian, which I cannot well pass over without resolving, since the solution thereof will inform us in the manner how the schism of one particular church did affect other churches. Now the objection may be this: If schism respected only one particular church, whence then comes it to pass that we read of Novatian bishops,

not only at Rome, where that schism first began, but in several other churches and parishes besides? Now to this I answer, that we must distinguish between the schism and the heresy of Novatian—had Novatian been only guilty of schism, in all probability his schismatical actions, as well as all other schisms before, would have ended in the same church where they began, and have proceeded no farther; but he having once engaged in his schism, and willing to continue it, that he might have some pretence for those enormous practices, he accused his bishop of remitting and loosing the reins of discipline, in communicating with Trophimus, and others, that had sacrificed to idols, as may be amply seen in the fifty-fifth epistle of Cyprian; consequently, for the justification of this accusation, he added this doctrine, as the characteristic dogma of his party, that the church had no power to absolve those who lapsed after baptism, but were to leave them to the tribunal of God. This was an error in doctrine, invidious to the mercy of God, and injurious to the merits of Christ, as Cyprian shows at large in his fifty-fifth epistle. Every error in doctrine was called heresy. Accordingly Novatian is branded for this as a heretic; whence the confessors, in their return from his party, confessed that in adhering to them “they had committed schisms, and been the authors of heresies.”<sup>a</sup> And in the same epistle they call Novatian “a heretic and a schismatic.”<sup>b</sup> So Cyprian also accuses the said Novatian of “heretical pravity,”<sup>c</sup> and calls his error “a schismatical and heretical error.”<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Commisisse se schismata, et hæresis auctores fuisse. Cyprian. Epist. 46, § 1, p. 104.

<sup>b</sup> Schismatico et hæretico homine. Ibidem. § 3, p. 105.

<sup>c</sup> Hæreticæ pravitatis. Epist. 47, § 1, p. 107.

<sup>d</sup> Schismaticus et hæreticus error. Epist. 51, § 2, p. 111.

So that Novatian's schism was accompanied with heresy; which, as usual, was called after the name of its author; and having many eminent persons to abet it, and a specious show of sanctity and mortification, it is no wonder that it spread itself into many other churches besides that where it was first hatched; unto which we may also add their industrious endeavours to proselyte men unto their party, "running about," as Cyprian writes, "from house to house, and from town to town, to gain companions in their obstinacy and error."\* For many of them, really thinking themselves to be in the right, and believing others to be in the wrong, conceived it to be their bounden duty to leave their bishop if he would not leave his heresy, as they apprehended it to be. And, probably, several bishops of the orthodox, who were the legal pastors of their respective parishes, were, through their own ignorance and those men's fair pretences, deluded into the same uncharitable error with them, of denying the lapsed any pardon. But we need not guess at this as only probable, since we have an instance of it in Martian, the lawful bishop of Arles, concerning whom Cyprian writes to Stephen, bishop of Rome, that he had received advice from the bishops of that province, "That Martian, of Arles, had joined himself unto Novatian, and had departed from the unity of the church and the concord of the bishops, holding that heretical severity, that the consolations of divine pity and fatherly lenity should be shut against the penitent and mourning servants of God, who knock at the church with tears, sighs, and groans; so that the wounded are not admitted to have their wounds healed; but, being left without any hope of peace or com-

\* *Ostiatim per multorum domos, vel oppidatim per quasdam civitates discurrentes, obstinationis suæ et erroris scissi sibi quærant comites.* Epist. 41, § 2, p. 97.

munion, are thrown out to the rapine of wolves, and prey of the devil.”<sup>a</sup>

So that it was not Novatian’s schism, but his heresy, that was diffused through other churches; his schism respected only his own church, but his heresy, which was a breach of the unity of the church universal, respected other churches also; so that in answer to the forenamed objection we need only say this, that there was no such thing as the objection supposes; that is, that there were no bishops or followers of Novatian’s schism in other churches, but that those that were discriminated by his name were the bishops and followers of his heresy.

But however, let us suppose the worst, viz., that all schismatics had been orthodox and sound in every point of faith, had been exemplary and pious in the discharge of every duty, had been guilty of no crime but their schism from their bishop and parish, and yet their schism might have influenced other churches and parishes too, and that I think these two ways:—

1. If one or more churches had admitted to communion those that were excommunicated by their own church for schism, that church or those churches made themselves partakers of those men’s crimes, and involved themselves in the same guilt of division and schism with them; as Martian, bishop of Arles, was adjudged by Cyprian a schismatic, “because he had joined with Novatian, when he

<sup>a</sup> *Martianus Arelate consistens Novatiano se conjunxerit, et à catholicæ ecclesiæ unitate, atque à corporis nostri et sacerdotii consensione discesserit, tenens hæreticæ præsumptionis durissimam pravitatem, ut servis Dei pœnitentibus et dolentibus, et ad ecclesiam lachrymis et gemitu et dolore pulsantibus, divinæ pietatis et lenitatis paternæ solatia et subsidia claudantur, nec ad fovenda vulnera admittantur vulnerati, sed sine spe pacis et communicationis relictis, ad luporum rapinam et prædæ diaboli projiciantur.* Epist. 67, § 1, p. 198.

had been before excommunicated.”<sup>a</sup> I do not here mean that a bishop or parish, to make themselves guilty, should actually or personally communicate with the author of the schism himself, much less in the church where he began his schism, but it was enough if they joined with his legates or messengers, or any of his followers in any church whatsoever; and therefore neither an African synod,<sup>b</sup> nor Antonius, an African bishop, would communicate with the legates of Novatian.<sup>c</sup> Nor would Cornelius join in communion with Felicissimus,<sup>d</sup> a schismatic of Carthage, when he came to Rome; but as he was excluded from communion in his own church, so likewise was he in that of Rome.

2. It was the custom when any bishop was elected, to send news of his promotion to other bishops, as Cornelius did to Cyprian,<sup>e</sup> that so he might have their confirmation, and their future letters to the bishop of that church, to which he was promoted, might be directed unto him, as Cyprian did unto Cornelius;<sup>f</sup> which custom of sending messengers to other churches, to acquaint them of their advancement to the episcopal throne, was also observed by the schismatics, and in particular by Novatian, who sent Maximus, a presbyter, Augendus, a deacon, Machæus and Longinus, unto Cyprian, to inform him of his promo-

<sup>a</sup> Cum Novatianus ipse, quem sequitur, olim abstentus et hostis ecclesiæ judicatus sit. Epist. 67, § 2, p. 198.

<sup>b</sup> Et cum ad nos in Africam legatos misisset, optans ad communicationem nostram admitti, hinc sententiam refulerint, se foris esse cospisse, nec posse à quoquam nostrum sibi communicari. Cyprian. Epist. 67, § 2, p. 198.

<sup>c</sup> Cum Novatiano te non communicare. Cyp. Epist. 52, § 1, p. 113.

<sup>d</sup> Felicissimum rejectum à te illic esse. Cyprian. Epist. 55, § 1, p. 137.

<sup>e</sup> Tuas literas legimus. Cyprian. Epist. 42, § 1, p. 99.

<sup>f</sup> Literas nostras ad te direximus. Cyprian. Epist. 42, § 1, p. 99.

tion to the see of Rome.<sup>a</sup> Now if any bishop or church did knowingly approve the pretensions of the schismatical bishop, they broke the concord of the church, and became guilty of schism, as may be gathered from the beginning of an epistle of Cyprian's to Antonius, an African bishop, wherein he writes him, "that he had received his letter, which firmly consented to the concord of the sacerdotal college, and adhered to the catholic church; by which he had signified that he would not communicate with Novatian, but hold an agreement with Bishop Cornelius."<sup>b</sup> And therefore when legates came to Cyprian both from Cornelius and Novatian, he duly weighed who was legally elected; and finding Cornelius so to be, he approved his election, "directed his congratulatory letters unto him,"<sup>c</sup> "refused to communicate with the schismatical messengers of Novatian,"<sup>d</sup> and "exhorted them to quit their schism, and to submit to their lawfully elected bishop."<sup>e</sup>

So that, in these two respects, the schism of a particular church might influence others also, involving them in the same crime, creating quarrels and dissensions between their respective bishops, and so dividing the dischargers of that honourable office, whom God hath made one; for, as Cyprian says, "as there is but one church throughout

<sup>a</sup> Venerunt ad nos missi à Novatiano Maximus presbyter et Augendus diaconus, et Machæus quidam, et Longinus. Cyprian. Epist. 41, § 1, p. 96.

<sup>b</sup> Accepi literas tuas, concordiam collegii sacerdotalis firmiter obtinentes et catholicæ ecclesiæ cohærentes, quibus significasti cum Novatiano te non communicare, sed cum Cornelio coepiscopo nostro unum tenere consensum. Epist. 52, § 1, p. 113.

<sup>c</sup> Literas nostras ad te direximus. Epist. 42, § 1, p. 99.

<sup>d</sup> A communicatione eos nostra statim cohibendos esse censuimus. Epist. 41, § 1, p. 96.

<sup>e</sup> Nec mandare desistimus, ut perniciosâ dissensione depositâ—agnoscant, episcopo semel facto, alium constitui nullo modo posse. Ibid. § 2, p. 97.

the whole world, divided into many members ; so there is but one bishopric diffused through the agreeing number of many bishops.”<sup>a</sup>

§ 11. But now that we may conclude this chapter, the sum of all that hath been spoken concerning schism is, that schism, in its large sense, was a breach of the unity of the church universal ; but, in its usual and restrained sense, of a church particular : whosoever, without any just reason, through faction, pride, and envy, separated from his bishop, or his parish church, he was a true schismatic ; and whosoever was thus a schismatic, if we may believe Saint Cyprian, “ he had no longer God for his father, nor the church for his mother, but was out of the number of the faithful ; and though he should die for the faith, yet should never be saved.”<sup>b</sup>

Thus much, then, shall serve for that query concerning the church's unity. The next and last thing that is to be inquired into is, the worship of the primitive church ; that is, the form and method of their public services, of reading, singing, preaching, praying, of baptism, confirmation, and the Lord's supper ; of their fasts and feasts ; of their rites and ceremonies, and such like ; which I thought to have annexed to this treatise, but this being larger than I expected, and the discourse relating to the primitive worship being like to be almost as large, I have for this, and some other reasons, reserved it for a particular tract by itself ; which, if nothing prevents, may be exposed hereafter to public view and observation.

<sup>a</sup> Cum sit à Christo una ecclesia per totum mundum in multa membra divisa, item episcopatus unus episcoporum multorum concordie numerositate diffusus. Epist. 52, § 16, p. 119.

<sup>b</sup> Alienus est—habere jam non potest Deum patrem, qui ecclesiam non habet matrem ; tales etiam si occisi in confessione nominis fuerint, macula ista nec sanguine abluitur. De Unit. Eccles. § 5 and 12, pp. 297 and 300.



# AN INQUIRY, ETC.

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## PART II.

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### CHAPTER I.

§ 1. Of the public worship of the primitive church. § 2. In their assemblies they began with reading the Scriptures. Other writings read besides the Scriptures. § 3. Who read the Scriptures, from whence they were read, and how they were read. § 4. Whether there were appointed lessons. § 5. After the reading of the Scriptures, there followed singing of psalms. § 6. What psalms they sung; § 7. The manner of their singing. § 8. Of singing men, and of church music. § 9. To singing of psalms succeeded preaching. On what the preacher discoursed: how long his sermon was. § 10. The method of their sermons. § 11. Who preached; usually the bishop; or, by his permission, any other, either clergyman or layman.

§ 1. HAVING in a former treatise inquired into the constitution, discipline, and unity of the primitive church, I intend in this to inquire into the worship thereof, which naturally divides itself into these two parts, into the worship itself; and into the necessary circumstances thereof, as time, place, and such like; both which I design to handle: beginning first with the worship itself, wherein I shall not meddle with the object thereof, since all Protestants agree in adoring God alone through Jesus Christ: but only speak of those particular acts and services whereby, in the public congregation, we honour and adore Almighty God; such as reading of the Scriptures, singing of psalms, preaching, praying, and the two sacraments; every one of which I shall consider in their order, as they

were performed in the ancient parish churches. And, first,

§ 2. When the congregation was assembled, the first act of divine service which they performed was the reading of the Holy Scriptures. "In our public assemblies," says Tertullian, "the Scriptures are read, psalms sung, sermons preached, and prayers presented." So, also, Justin Martyr writes, that in their religious assemblies, first of all, "the writings of the prophets and apostles were read."<sup>a</sup>

But besides the sacred Scriptures, there were other writings read in several churches, viz., the epistles and tracts of eminent and pious men, such as the book of Her-  
mas,<sup>c</sup> called Pastor, and the epistles of Clemens Romanus to the church of Corinth, "which were read in the public congregations of many churches."<sup>d</sup>

§ 3. He that read the Scriptures was particularly destined to this office, as a preparative to holy orders, as Aurelius, whom Cyprian designed for a presbyter, "was first to begin with the office of reading."<sup>e</sup> The name by which this officer was distinguished was, in Greek, ὁ ἀναγινώσκων,<sup>f</sup> in Latin, "lector,"<sup>g</sup> both which signify, in English, a reader; or, as we now call him, a clerk. The place from whence the clerk read was an eminency erected in the church, that so all the people might see and hear

<sup>a</sup> Scripturæ leguntur, psalmi canuntur, adlocutiones proferuntur, et petitiones delegantur. De Amimâ. cap. 3, p. 530.

<sup>b</sup> Τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται. Apolog. 2, p. 98.

<sup>c</sup> Ἡδὲ καὶ ἐκκλησίαις ἴσμεν αὐτὸ δεδημοσιευμένον. Euseb. lib. 3, cap. 3, p. 72.

<sup>d</sup> Ταύτην δὲ καὶ ἐν πλείσταις ἐκκλησίαις ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ δεδημοσιευμένην. Euseb. lib. 3, cap. 16, p. 88.

<sup>e</sup> Placuit ut ab officio lectionis incipiat. Epist. 33, p. 77.

<sup>f</sup> Just. Martyr. Apolog. 2, p. 98.

<sup>g</sup> Tertul. de Præscript. advers. Hæret. p. 89.

him, which was called "pulpitum," or "a pulpit;"<sup>a</sup> from which pulpit he read the Scriptures alone, and not others alternatively with him; it being his office only to read, whilst the congregation listened to him, as Cyprian writes that Celerinus, a lector, "read the law and the gospel to all the people."<sup>b</sup> Celerinus only read, whilst all the people attended; and, therefore, when this duty was ended, it is described only "by the lector's ceasing to read,"<sup>c</sup> and not by the people ceasing so to do.

§ 4. How much the lector read at a time is uncertain, since they varied according to the circumstances of their condition. So writes Tertullian, that "they read the Scriptures according to the quality of their present times."<sup>d</sup> And to the same purpose says Justin Martyr, that the clerk read "until it was sufficient."<sup>e</sup>

§ 5. When the reading of the Scriptures was ended, then followed the singing of psalms. So says Tertullian: "The Scriptures are read and psalms sung."<sup>f</sup> This was a considerable part of the Christians' service; who, as Pliny writes, met together before day, "to sing a hymn to Christ,"<sup>g</sup> it being useful to elevate the mind in heavenly raptures of praise and adoration, and to raise a pious soul into greater degrees of admiration of God's love and bounty, whence such a soul is described by Clemens Alexandrinus, "to be continually blessing, praising, sing-

<sup>a</sup> Cyprian. Epist. 33, p. 77, and Epist. 34, § 4, p. 81.

<sup>b</sup> Plebi universæ—legat præcepta et evangelium Domini. Epist. 34, § 4, p. 81.

<sup>c</sup> Πασχαμένον τοῦ ἀγαγινώσκοντος. Justin. Martyr. Apolog. 2, p. 98.

<sup>d</sup> Cogimur ad literarum divinarum commemorationem, si quid presentium temporum qualitas aut præmonere cogit aut recognoscere. Apolog. c. 39, p. 709.

<sup>e</sup> Μέχρις ἔγχευε. Apolog. 2, p. 98.

<sup>f</sup> Scripturæ leguntur, psalmi canuntur. De Anim. cap. 3, p. 520.

<sup>g</sup> Carmen Christo quasi Deo dicere. Epist. ad Trajan.

ing, and presenting hymns to God, the Lord of all,"<sup>a</sup> being assisted by the Holy Spirit of God, "without whose aid it was impossible to sing either in good rhyme, tune, metre, or harmony."<sup>b</sup>

The Christians in those days condemned only the debauched bacchanalian singing and roaring, but commended the blessing and praising of God "by thanksgiving and singing of psalms,"<sup>c</sup> inasmuch that it was made one characteristic distinction of a Christian. As Tertullian inveighs against the marriage of a believing woman with an infidel because thereby she would be hindered from discharging the ordinances of the gospel, amongst which he enumerates singing of psalms; for then, says he, "What would her husband sing to her," or, "What would she sing to her husband?"<sup>d</sup> And a little after he describes the happy condition of that couple who were both Christians, in that they did both join together in, and exhort one another to, the vigorous performance of God's worship: "psalms and hymns sound between those two, and they mutually excite one another who shall sing unto God best;"<sup>e</sup> it being their daily employment, and recurring as often as they eat their meat. Thus saith Clemens Alexandrinus: "A good Christian's life is a continued festival; his sacrifices are prayers and praises; reading of Scrip-

<sup>a</sup> Ἀεὶ αἰνοῦσα, ὑμνουσα, εὐλογοῦσα, ψάλλουσα. Stromat. lib. 6, p. 483.

<sup>b</sup> Οὐδὲ ψάλλαι καὶ εὐρύθμως, καὶ ἑμμελῶς, καὶ ἑμμέτρως, καὶ συμφώνως ὑμνῆσαι τὸν πατέρα ἐν Χριστῷ, ἐὰν μὴ τὸ πνεῦμα, &c. Origen. de Orat. 4 6, p. 7.

<sup>c</sup> Δι' εὐχαριστίας, καὶ ψαλμωδίας. Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. 2, cap. 4, p. 121.

<sup>d</sup> Quid maritus suus illi? Vel marito quid illa cantabit? Ad Uxor. lib. 2, p. 431.

<sup>e</sup> Sonant inter duos psalmi et hymni, et mutuo provocant, quia melius Deo sua canet. Ibidem. p. 433.

tures before meat, and singing of psalms and hymns at meat."<sup>a</sup> Hence in their feasts and banquets, "when they drank to one another, they sung a hymn, therein blessing God for his inexpressible gifts toward mankind, both as to their bodies and souls."<sup>b</sup>

I confess, indeed, that most of these quotations respect only private singing of psalms, and so they may seem to be somewhat alien from my purpose; on which account I should not have mentioned them, but have wholly passed them over in silence, had it not been to have satisfied those who hold it unlawful to sing any psalms at all, in what manner soever; for if singing in private was usual and commendable, then, no doubt, public singing was so also.

§ 6. What those psalms or hymns were that the primitive Christians sung, may be a question necessary to be resolved, which I take to be two-fold, either such as were taken out of the Holy Scriptures, and particularly out of the book of Psalms, or such as were of their own private composing. So writes Tertullian, that after the celebration of the Lord's supper, "every one sung a hymn out of the Bible, or of his own composing."<sup>c</sup> As for the singing of David's psalms, the same father particularly mentions the one hundred and thirty-third psalm as sung in his days, "O how good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity. This thou canst not easily sing, unless when thou suppest with many."<sup>d</sup> As for the hymns that

<sup>a</sup> *Ύμνοι δὲ καὶ ᾠμοὶ παρὰ τὸν ἐς τὰ σιν.* Stromat. lib. 7, p. 523.

<sup>b</sup> *Παρὰ πότον ψάλλειν ἀλλήλοις προπίνομεν—τὸν Θεὸν δοξάζοντες ἐπὶ τῇ ἀφθόνῳ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἀπολαύσεων δωρεᾷ, τῶν τε εἰς τὴν τοῦ σώματος, τῶν τε εἰς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς αὔξησιν τροφῶν ἀιδίως ἐπιχορηγηθῆναι.* Stromat. lib. 6. p. 475.

<sup>c</sup> *Quisque de Scripturis Sanctis, vel de proprio ingenio provocatur in medium Deo canere.* Apolog. cap. 39, p. 710.

<sup>d</sup> *Vide quam bonum et quam jucundum habitare fratres in unum: hoc tu psallere non facile nosti, nisi quo tempore cum compluribus canas.* Advers. Psychicos de Jejuniis. p. 650.

were of private men's composition, it was one of the accusations of Paulus Samosatenus, the heretical bishop of Antioch, "that he abolished those psalms which were wont to be sung to the honour of the Lord Jesus Christ, as novel, and composed by modern authors; and that he appointed women, on Easter day, in the middle of the church, to sing psalms in his praise."<sup>a</sup> And in the fragment of an anonymous author, extant in Eusebius, we find the heresy of Artemon, who denied the divinity of Christ, confuted not only by the Scriptures and the writings of the precedent fathers, but also "by the psalms and hymns of the brethren, which were formerly composed by them, wherein they praised Christ by making him a God."<sup>b</sup> Such a private composed hymn was that which Clemens Alexandrinus mentions, as one commonly known among the Christians in his days, beginning, *χαίρε φῶς*, or, "Hail, Light." *Protreptic*, p. 52.

§ 7. As for the manner of the primitive singing, it was "in good tune and concert,"<sup>c</sup> all the people bearing a part in it; but whether all together, or antiphonally, cannot well be determined; every country probably following its own mode, singing only in general being commanded, not the particular manner or fashion of it. In a precedent quotation<sup>d</sup> mention is made of singing, in concert, *συνφώνως*, or "with voices all together." In other places the alternative method of singing seems expressly to be used;

<sup>a</sup> *Ψαλμοὺς δὲ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν παύσας, ὡς δὲ νεωτέρους καὶ νεωτέρων ἀνδρῶν συγγράμματα, εἰς ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τῇ μεγάλῃ τοῦ πάσχα ἡμέρᾳ ψαλμωδεῖν γυναῖκας παρασκευάζων.* Act. Concil. Antioch. apud Euseb. lib. 7, cap. 30, p. 281.

<sup>b</sup> *Ψαλμοὶ δὲ ὅσοι καὶ ὡδαὶ ἀδελφῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ πσιῶν γραφεῖσθαι, τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν ὑμνοῦσι θεολογοῦντες.* Lib. 5, cap. 28, p. 196.

<sup>c</sup> *Ἐμμελῶς καὶ συμφώνως.* Origen. de Oratione, § 6, p. 7.

<sup>d</sup> Origen de Oratione, § 6, p. 7.

as Pliny writes, that the Christians in his time met together before day, "to sing a hymn to Christ by course, or one against another."<sup>a</sup> And so in that forecited passage of Tertullian, "what will an unbelieving husband sing to a believing wife, or what will a believing wife sing to an unbelieving husband?"<sup>b</sup>

§ 8. As for singing men and singing women, I find that Paulus Samosatenus, the heretical bishop of Antioch, abolished the old usual hymns, and "appointed certain women, on Easter day, in the middle of the church, to sing psalms in his praise."<sup>c</sup> But whether these singing women were first instituted by this heretical bishop, or were before his time, I cannot tell.

As for church music, for organs, and the like, those primitive ages were wholly ignorant of them; for it cannot rationally be conceived, that in those days of continual persecution or violence, they could either use or preserve them; all that they looked after was, to sing in "rhyme, metre, tune, and concert,"<sup>d</sup> to offer up unto God the praises of their voices, lips, and mouths, which Clemens Alexandrinus thinks was emblemized or shadowed forth by those musical instruments mentioned in Psalm cl, where, saith he, "we are commanded to praise God on the psaltery, that is, on the tongue, because the tongue is the psaltery of the Lord; and to praise him on the harp, by which we must understand the mouth; and to praise him on the loud sounding cymbals, by which the

<sup>a</sup> Carmen Christo dicere secum invicem. Epist. ad Trajan.

<sup>b</sup> Quid maritus suus illi? Vel marito quid illa cantabit? Ad Urr. lib. 2, p. 431.

<sup>c</sup> Εἰς αὐτὸν δὲ ἐν μέσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ τοῦ πάσχα ἡμέρᾳ ψάλλειν γυναῖκας παρασκευάζων. Apud. Euseb. lib. 7, cap. 30, p. 281.

<sup>d</sup> Εὐρύθμως, καὶ ἑμμελῶς, καὶ ἑμμετρως, καὶ συμφώνως. Origen de Oratione, § 6, p. 7.

tongue is to be understood, which sounds or speaks through the knocking or coition of the lips."<sup>a</sup>

§ 9. When the singing of psalms was ended, then succeeded the preaching of the word. So writes Tertullian, "Scriptures are read, psalms sung, and then sermons pronounced."<sup>b</sup> As for the subject of the preacher's sermon, it was usually a commentary or explication of the lessons that were just before read. So it was in the time and country of Justin Martyr, who writes, that "when the reader had ended, the bishop made a sermon, by way of instruction and exhortation to the imitation of those excellent things which had been read."<sup>c</sup> Whence Origen calls their sermons "explanations of the lessons."<sup>d</sup> And such explanations are all his sermons or homilies, as whosoever reads them will easily see; and he himself intimates as much in several of them.<sup>e</sup>

As for the length of their sermons, they usually preached an hour, as Origen complains of his abundance of matter, that if he should thoroughly handle every part of it, "it would require not only the one hour of their assembly, but several."<sup>f</sup> Therefore, when the lessons were long and copious, which sometimes consisted of several chapters,

<sup>a</sup> Αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ, ὅτι ἡ γλῶττα τὸ ψαλτήριον Κυρίου, καὶ ἐν κιθάρᾳ αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν, κιθάρα νοεῖσθω τὸ ζῶμα—αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν κυμβάλοις ἀλαλαγμοῦ, κύμβαλον τοῦ ζώματος τὴν γλῶτταν λέγει, § τοῖς κροσμένοις ἐπηχεῖ χεῖλεσι. Pædag. lib. 2, cap. 4, p. 131.

<sup>b</sup> Scripturæ leguntur, psalmi canuntur, adlocutiones proferuntur. De Animâ. cap. 3, p. 530.

<sup>c</sup> Πανσαμένου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος, ὁ προεὼς διὰ λόγου τὴν νοθεσίαν, καὶ πρόκλησιν τῆς τῶν καλῶν τούτων μελέτης ποιεῖται. Apol. 2, p. 98.

<sup>d</sup> Τῶν εἰς τὰ ἀναγνώσματα διηγῆσεων. Contra Celsum. lib. 3, p. 142.

<sup>e</sup> Homil. de Engastrim., and Homil. 17 in Jerem.

<sup>f</sup> Ὅρας οὐ μᾶς συνάξω, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείονων. Homil. de Engast.



as the lesson which was the subject of Origen's fifteenth homily on Jeremiah reached from the fifteenth chapter and tenth verse to the seventeenth chapter and fifth verse, the preacher passed over some of the matter unmentioned, and handled the most important, or the most curious part therein. Thus in the beginning of a sermon of Origen's we find that the chapters that were read were, the twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth, twenty-seventh, and twenty-eighth chapters of the first book of Samuel, which he complains "were too large and copious to be handled at once, and therefore he would only discourse of the twenty-eighth chapter, touching the witch of Endor, and those things related there concerning her."<sup>a</sup>

§ 10. As for the manner of their sermons, we may observe this method in those of Origen, that he first began with a short exordium, and then explained verse after verse, or sentence after sentence, showing the natural and literal signification of the words, and then the spiritualized or mystical meaning of them, and concluded with a suitable application of all, either "by way of exhortation to piety and virtue, or by way of dehortation from vice and impiety."<sup>b</sup> Always accommodating their discourses to the capacities of their hearers: "If their auditors were prudent and understanding, then they scrupled not to treat of the profound mysteries of the gospel; but if they had attained no great measure of knowledge, and had need of milk, as the apostle styles it, then they concealed from them those deep and recondite points."<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Τὰ ἀναγνωσθέντα πλείονα ἐστὶν—ὧν ἐκάστη πράγματα οὐκ ὀλίγη ἔχει—τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐγγαστριμύθου. Homil. de Engast. pp. 28, 29.

<sup>b</sup> Προτρέποντες μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν εἰς Θεὸν εὐσέβειαν, ἀποτρέποντες δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ καταφρονεῖν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ πάντων τῶν παρὰ τὸν ὁρθὸν λόγον πραττομένων. Origen. contra Cels. lib. 3, p. 142.

<sup>c</sup> Τότε τολμῶμεν ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν διαλόγοις φέρειν εἰς μέσον, δι' εὐποροῦμεν συνετῶν ἀκρατῶν, ἀποκρύπτομεν δὲ καὶ παρασιωπῶμεν

§ 11. As for the preacher himself, it was usually the bishop of the parish. So saith Justin Martyr, "the bishop preaches by way of instruction and exhortation, to the imitation of those excellent things which we read."<sup>a</sup> Or else he desired a presbyter, or some other fit person, to preach in his room: without his consent it had been schism and violence in any person whatsoever to have usurped his chair; but, with his permission, any clergyman or layman might preach in his pulpit. Now that clergymen preached, no one will question, though it will be doubted whether laymen did: but that they did so, appears from a memorable history concerning Origen, who going from Alexandria to Palestine, by the desire of the bishops of that country, publicly preached in the church, and expounded the Holy Scriptures, although he was not yet in holy orders. At which action, when Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, was offended, Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus, of Cesarea, wrote to him in defence of it as follows: "Whereas you write in your letter, that it was never before seen or done, that laymen should preach in the presence of bishops, therein you wander from the truth; for wheresoever any are found that are fit to profit the brethren, the holy bishops, of their own accord, ask them to preach unto the people. So Evelpis was desired by Neon, bishop of Laranda, and Paulinus by Celsus of Iconium, and Theodorus by Atticus of Synnada, our most blessed brethren; and it is credible that this is likewise done in other places, though we know it not."<sup>b</sup> But yet though laymen preached, it was not

*τὰ βαθύτερα τοὺς συνερχομένους, καὶ δεομένους λόγων τροπικῶς ὀνομαζομένων γάλα. Idem ibidem. p. 143.*

<sup>a</sup> 'Ο προεσὼς διὰ λόγου τὴν νοουθεσίαν, καὶ πρόκλησιν τῆς τῶν καλῶν τούτων μμήσεως ποιεῖται. Apolog. 2, p. 98.

<sup>b</sup> Προσέθηκε δὲ τοῖς γράμμασιν, ὅτι τοῦτο οὐδέποτε ἠκούσθη οὐδὲ νῦν γεγῆνηται, τὸ παρόντων ἐπισκόπων λαϊκοὺς ὁμιλεῖν, οἷδ' ὅπως προφάν.

every one that did so, but only those that were ἐπιτήδευοι πρὸς τὸ ὠφελεῖν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς, "fit to profit the brethren;" and though they were never so fit, yet they did not irregularly or disorderly run about a preaching, or discharge that sacred office, "till they were desired by the bishop of a parish to do it," καὶ προσκαλοῦνται τῷ λαῷ προσομιλεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἐπισκόπων, but stayed for the permission and approbation of such a one; for without that their sermons and discourses would have been but so many acts of schism and faction.

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## CHAPTER II.

§ 1. After preaching, all the congregation rose up to join in public prayers. § 2. They prayed toward the east. Their reasons for that custom. § 3. They lifted up their hands and eyes toward heaven. § 4. Whether the minister that officiated wore a surplice, and therein of ministers' habits. § 5. Whether they sung their prayers, and whether they used responsals. § 6. Of prescribed liturgies. The Lord's prayer not always, but commonly used by them. § 7. To the Lord's prayer they added other prayers of their own choice or invention, proved so to have been. § 8. Whether their prayers were divided into several collects.

§ 1. As soon as the sermon was ended, then all the congregation rose up to present their common and public prayers unto Almighty God, as Justin Martyr writes, that when the preacher had finished his discourse, "they all

ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ λέγων, ὅπου γοῦν εὐρίσκονται οἱ ἐπιτήδευοι πρὸς τὸ ὠφελεῖν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς, καὶ παρακαλοῦνται τῷ λαῷ προσομιλεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἐπισκόπων, ὥσπερ ἐν Λαράνδοις Εὐελπις ὑπὸ Νέωνος, καὶ ἐν Ἰκονίῳ Παυλῖνος ὑπὸ Κέλσον, καὶ ἐν Συννάδοις Θεόδωρος ὑπὸ Ἀττικοῦ τῶν μακαρίων ἀδελφῶν, εἰκὸς δὲ ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις τοῦτο γίνεσθαι, ἡμᾶς δὲ μὴ εἰδέναι. Apud Euseb. lib. 6, cap. 19, p. 222.

rose up, and offered their prayers unto God.”<sup>a</sup> Standing being the usual posture of praying, (at least the constant one on Sundays, on which day they esteemed it a sin to kneel,) whence the preacher frequently concluded his sermon with an exhortation to his auditors to stand up and pray to God, as we find it more than once in the conclusion of Origen’s sermons; as, “Wherefore standing up, let us beg help from God, that we may be blessed in Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever, Amen.”<sup>b</sup> And, “Wherefore, rising up, let us pray to God that we may be made worthy of Jesus Christ, to whom be glory and dominion for ever and ever, Amen.”<sup>c</sup> And again, “Standing up, let us offer sacrifices to the Father through Christ, who is the propitiation for our sins, to whom be glory and dominion for ever and ever, Amen.”<sup>d</sup>

§ 2. Accordingly the whole congregation stood up, and turned their faces toward the east, it being their custom and manner to pray toward that quarter, as Tertullian writes, “We pray toward the east.”<sup>e</sup> Now the reasons that I meet with for this usage may be reduced to these three or four:—

I. Out of respect and reverence to their Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, they prayed toward the east, because the East is a title given to Christ in the Old Testament;

<sup>a</sup> Ἐπειτα ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες, καὶ εὐχὰς πεμπομεν. Apolog. 2, p. 98.

<sup>b</sup> Διὸ ἀναστάντες τὴν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ βοήθειαν αἰτήσωμεν, ἵνα ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ μακαρισθῶμεν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, Ἀμήν. Homil. 19 in Jerem. vol. 1, p. 198.

<sup>c</sup> Quapropter consurgentes deprecemur Dominum, ut digni efficiamur — Christo Jesu, cui est gloria et imperium in sæcula sæculorum. Amen. Homil. 2 in Cantic.

<sup>d</sup> Surgentes per Christum sacrificia Patri offeramus, ipse enim propitiatio est pro peccatis nostris, cui est gloria et imperium in sæcula sæculorum. In Isaiam, Homil. 1.

<sup>e</sup> Nos ad Orientis regionem precari. Apolog. cap. 16, p. 688.

for that place in Zech. vi, 12, "Behold the man whose name is The Branch," they translated according to the Septuagint, "Behold the man whose name is The East,"<sup>a</sup> which misapprehension of the word branch arose from the different significations or applications of the Greek word by which the Septuagint expressed it. In the original Hebrew the word is *נֶחֱמֶץ*, which signifies an arising or sprouting out, as doth a branch from a root. The word by which they rendered it in Greek is, *ἀνατολή*, which, in a large sense, comprehends all sorts of arising and springing out; but, strictly and generally, is applied to the arising and first appearing of the sun, and, by a metonymy, is appropriated to the east, because the sun arises in that quarter. The fathers, therefore, not knowing the original, and finding Christ to be called in their ordinary version *ἀνατολή*, presently concluded that, according to the usual signification of the word, he was there termed by the prophet, "The East," whom they conceived to be so called, because "he was to arise like a star."<sup>b</sup> And, "as the sun that ariseth in the east penetrates through the world with its warm and illuminating rays, so Christ, the Sun of righteousness, would arise with more warmth of light, and pierce farther than the material sun, even into the depths of men's hearts and minds."<sup>c</sup> Hence the east is called by Tertullian, "A type of Christ;"<sup>d</sup> and for this reason we may very well suppose, that they prayed toward the east, as well as built their churches toward it; which that they did, we shall show in its proper place.

<sup>a</sup> Καὶ ἄλλη δὲ γραφὴ φησιν ἶδον ἄνθρωπον ἀνατολὴν ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. Justin. Martyr. Dialog. cum Tryphon. p. 334.

<sup>b</sup> Ὅτι ὡς ἄστρον ἐμελλεν ἀνατέλλειν. Idem. ibid. p. 334.

<sup>c</sup> Πυρρὸς γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ σοφίας λόγος, καὶ φωτεινότερος μᾶλλον τῶν ἡλίου δυνάμεων ἐστίν, καὶ τὰ βάθη τῆς καρδίας καὶ τοῦ νοῦ εἰσδύνων, ὅθεν καὶ ὁ λόγος ἔφη ὑπερ τῶν ἡλίων ἀνατελεῖ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ· καὶ πάλιν, ἀνατολὴ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. Idem. ibid. p. 350

<sup>d</sup> Orientem Christi figuram. Advers. Valentin. p. 284.

II. Another reason might be with respect to the similitude of the rising of the sun, with our spiritual arising out of the darkness of sin and corruption, which I find thus expressed by Clemens Alexandrinus: "Let prayers be made toward the east, because the east is the representation of our spiritual nativity. As from thence light first arose, shining out of darkness, so, according to that rising of the sun, the day of true knowledge arose on those who lay buried in ignorance; whence the ancient temples looked toward the west, that so they who stood against the images therein might be forced to look toward the east."<sup>a</sup>

III. Origen advises to pray toward the eastern climate, to denote our diligence in the service of God, in being more forward to arise and set about it, than the sun is to run his daily course, for which he produces an apocryphal text, Wisdom xvi, 28, "That it might be known that we must prevent the sun to give thee thanks, and at the day-spring pray unto thee."<sup>b</sup>

IV. Another reason for their praying toward the east, was their opinion of the excellency of this quarter above others; which argument Origen thus delivers, as well as I can translate it: "Whereas there are four climates, the north and south, the west and the east—who will not acknowledge that we ought to pray looking toward the east, symbolically representing thereby our souls beholding the arising of the true Light? If a man, which way soever the doors of his house are placed, would rather make his

<sup>a</sup> Ἐπὶ δὲ γενεθλίων ἡμέρας εἰκὼν ἡ ἀνατολὴ, κακεῖθεν τὸ φῶς ἀξέ-  
ται ἐκ σκόπου λάμψαν τὸ πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ καλινδου-  
μένοις ἀντέειλε γνώσεως ἀληθείας ἡμέρα κατὰ λόγον τοῦ ἡλίου πρὸς  
τὴν ἑωθινὴν ἀνατολὴν αἱ εὐχαὶ· ὁθεν καὶ τὰ παλαιάτα τῶν ἱερῶν πρὸς  
ὁσὶν ἐβλεπεν, ἵνα οἱ ἅπαντες πρόσωπον τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἱσάμενοι πρὸς  
ἀνατολὴν τρέψονται διδάσκονται. Stromat. lib. 7. p. 520.

<sup>b</sup> Περὶ δὲ κλίματος ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ Σολομώντος, ὅπως γνωσθῇ ὅτι δεῖ  
φθάσειν τὸν ἥλιον ἐπ' εὐχαριστίας σου, καὶ περὶ ἀνατολῆς φωτὸς ἐν-  
τυγχάνειν σοι. De Oratione, § 20, p. 127.

prayers toward the windows, saying, that the sight of the sky hath something more peculiar in it to stir up his affection than his looking against a wall; or, if it so happen that the windows of his house do not look toward the east, that happened from the arbitrary structure of the builder, but not from nature, which prefers the east before the other quarters; and nature is to be preferred before that building; or, if any one will pray in the open field, will he not pray rather toward the east than toward the west? And if in these things the east is preferred before the west, why is it not so also in every thing besides?"<sup>a</sup>

For these four reasons now, but principally I suppose for the first, they usually prayed toward the east; inasmuch that for their worshipping toward this quarter, and for their religious observation of the Lord's day, or Sunday, so called because dedicated to the sun, they "were accused by the heathen of reverencing and adoring the sun."<sup>b</sup>

§ 3. The congregation being thus turned toward the east, they put themselves into a posture of prayer, stretch-

<sup>a</sup> Τεσσάρων δὲ ὄντων κλιμάτων, τοῦτε πρὸς ἄρκτον καὶ μεσήμβριαν, καὶ τοῦτε πρὸς δύσιν καὶ ἀνατολὴν, τίς οὐκ ἂν αὐτόθεν ὁμολογήσαι τὴ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἐνεργῶς ἐμφαίνειν τὸ δεῖν ἐκεῖ νεύοντας συμβολικῶς, ὡς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνορώσεως τῇ τοῦ ἁληθινοῦ φωτὸς ἀνατολῇ, ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἐσχάς; ἔνν δὲ τίς ὁποῦδήποτε τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ οἴκου νενοουσῶν, βούλεται, μᾶλλον κατὰ τὸ ἀνεωγὸς τῆς οἰκίας προσφέρειν τὰς ἐντεῦξεις, λέγων τὴν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὕψιν ἔχειν τι μᾶλλον προσκαλουμένων ἐφ' ἑαυτῇ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν τείχον ἐπιβλέψεως, εἰ τύχοιεν μὴ διανεωγότα τοῦ οἴκου τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς, λεκτέον πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι θέσει τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων ἁνθρώπων κατὰ τὰδε τὰ κλίματα, ἢ τὰδε διανοιγομένων, φύσει δὲ τῆς ἀνατολῆς τῶν λοιπῶν προκεκρμένης κλιμάτων, τὸ φύσει τοῦ θέσει προτακτέον· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ ἐν πεδίῳ, εὐξασθαι βουλόμενος, τί μᾶλλον κατὰ τοῦτον ἢ ἐπὶ δύσιν προσεύξεται, εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖ προκριτέον τὰς ἀνατολὰς κατὰ τὸ εὐλογον, διότι τοῦτο οὐ πανταχοῦ ποιητέον; De Orations, § 21, pp. 133, 134.

<sup>b</sup> Inde suspicio, quod innotuerit nos ad orientis regionem precari. Tertul. Apolog. cap. 16, p. 688.

ing out their hands and lifting up their eyes toward heaven, as Clemens Alexandrinus writes: "We lift up our head, and stretch out our hands toward heaven."<sup>a</sup> And so Tertullian: "We pray, looking up to heaven with expanded hands;"<sup>b</sup> by this devout posture imitating "the lifting up of their hearts to God in the heavens."<sup>c</sup> Wherefore, as now to quicken the people's devotion, the minister, before prayer, excites them thereunto by saying, "Let us pray;" so in the African churches, in Cyprian's days, the minister "prefaced his prayer by saying to the people, 'Lift up your hearts:' to which the people, to testify their consent, answered, 'We lift them up unto the Lord.'"<sup>d</sup>

§ 4. After this the minister began to pray: but before we handle his prayer, it may not be unnecessary to consider in what habit he officiated, whether in a surplice or no. His usual garb was a pallium, which is the same with what we call a cloak.<sup>e</sup> This, as being the most simple and plain garment, was commonly worn by the Christians. The usual garb throughout the whole Roman empire was the toga, which was more gay and splendid than the pallium; wherefore those who came over from paganism to Christianity, for the indication of their humility and contempt of the world, quitted the toga, as too pompous and mundane, and assumed the pallium or cloak,

<sup>a</sup> Προσανατείνομεν τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀίρομεν. Stromat. lib. 7, p. 519.

<sup>b</sup> Illuc suspicientes Christiani manibus expansis. Apolog. cap. 30, p. 703.

<sup>c</sup> Ολοὺς τὸν εἰκόνα τῶν προπόντων ιδιωμάτων, &c. Origen. de Orat. § 20, p. 128.

<sup>d</sup> Sacerdos ante orationem præfatione præmissa parat fratrum mentes dicendo, Sursum corda; et respondet plebs, Habemus ad Dominum. Cyprian. de Orat. Dominic. § 22, p. 316.

<sup>e</sup> Pallio nihil expeditius,——quippe tota molitio ejus operire est solutum, id est, uno circumjectu——ita omnia hominis simul contegit. Tertul. de Pallio. p. 490.



as more grave and modest ; from which change of apparel, and renouncing of a sumptuous habit, to embrace a poor and mean one, the heathens derided and exposed the Christians, even to a proverb, *a toga ad pallium* ; which sarcastic language engaged Tertullian to write a little tract in defence of the cloak, which is still extant in his writings under the title of “De Pallio.”

But Salmasius and Dr. Cave\* think this severe habit was not worn by all Christians, but only by those of them that led a more austere and mortified life ; such as the clergy and some self-denying personages amongst the laity ; and that, therefore, it is called by Tertullian in the forementioned tract, “*sacerdotis habitus*,” or priest’s apparel, as it is in all ancient manuscripts, and in the first edition of “*Beatus Rhenanus*,” and not “*sacer habitus*,” the holy apparel, as it is in the later editions. But whether it were so or no, I shall not here debate : this is sufficient for my purpose, that the clergy usually wore a cloak. But now that in times of public prayer they should put a surplice, or any other kind of linen garment, over their cloaks, neither Tertullian, nor any other, speak the least syllable of it. Instead of putting another vestment on their gown or cloak, Tertullian mentions some in his days, who at prayers would throw off their gown or cloak, which he condemns as a superstitious affectation, and a heathenish custom. “So,” saith he, “the heathens pray to their gods, which, if it ought to have been done, would have been enjoined by the apostles, who have given directions concerning the manner of prayers : unless, some think, that when Paul had put off his cloak at prayer, he forgot it, and left it behind him at Carpus’s.”<sup>b</sup>

§ 5. But, quitting the habit of him that officiated, let us

\* Primitive Christianity. Part 2, cap. 3, p. 47.

<sup>b</sup> Quorundam positis penulis orationem facere : sic enim adeunt ad idola nationes : quod utique si fieri oporteret, apostoli qui de habitu

return to his prayer, which he pronounced "with a modest and bashful voice,"<sup>a</sup> that being most proper for those who came to acknowledge the multitude and heinousness of their sins, and to beg God's pardon and grace, which is the end and design of prayer. Musical singing is best agreeable to the praising and adoring of God; "but our petitions to God ought to be sent up with most fervent prayers, with tears, and cries, and groans."<sup>b</sup>

Doubtless the minister so prayed as did most affect the people, whose mouth he was to God; for they did not vocally join with him in the prayers, but only testified their assent to what the minister prayed, by saying, *Amen*, or, *So be it*. Thus in the prayer at the celebration of the Lord's supper, the president of the assembly only prayed, and the people concurred with the *amen*. So writes Justin Martyr:—"The bishop makes a long prayer over the elements, and when he ends, all the people present give their approbation by saying, *Amen*."<sup>c</sup> And, "When the elements are blessed by the minister's prayer, and the people have approved it by saying, *Amen*, then they are distributed."<sup>d</sup> And, "The bishop, according to his ability, prays over the elements, and the people give their acclamations, saying, *Amen*."<sup>e</sup> So that scrupulous person mentioned by Dionysius Alexandrinus, in his epistle to Xys-

orandi docent, comprehendissent, nisi si qui putant Paulum penulam suam in oratione penes Carpum reliquisse. De Oratione, p. 659.

<sup>a</sup> Modestis precibus orare. Cyprian de Orat. Dominic. § 2, p. 309.

<sup>b</sup> Enixis precibus, lacrymis ingemiscamus, preces, gemitus, lachrymæ. Cyprian. Epist. 8. p. 23.

<sup>c</sup> Παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται, οὗ συντελήσαντος τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, πῶς ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων, Ἀμήν. Apolog. 2, p. 97.

<sup>d</sup> Εὐχαρισήσαντος δὲ τοῦ προεσώτος καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντος παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ. Ibid. p. 97.

<sup>e</sup> Εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας δὴ δύναμις αὐτῷ ἀναπέμπει, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων τὸ, Ἀμήν. Ibid. p. 98.

tus, is said "to have frequently heard the eucharistical prayer, and with the rest of the congregation to have answered, *Amen*." <sup>a</sup> Henricus Valesius, in his notes on this place; as, likewise, Dr. Hammond, in his annotations on 1 Cor. xiv, thinks that St. Paul had reference to this custom of the people saying *Amen* at the conclusion of the eucharistical prayer in 1 Cor. xiv, 16, "Else, when thou shalt bless with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say *Amen* at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest?" In which place St. Paul condemns, as absurd and senseless, the practice of some men, who would consecrate the sacrament in Hebrew or Syriac before Greeks, who, understanding not those tongues, could not bear their share in the eucharistical prayer, which consisted not in antiphonal or responsory replies to the minister, but only in saying *Amen*, or, *So be it*, to what he had prayed.

It is true, indeed, that these citations are spoken in particular of the prayer before the Lord's supper; but yet, they may be also applied to their prayer after sermon, since we have no reason to imagine, that in the one they should use responsals, and in the other none. But that in all their prayers the priest only prayed, seems to be apparent, for that it was one part of his office to pray for the people. "The priests," says Cyprian, "pray for the safety of the Lord's people."<sup>b</sup> And "the priests who have sacrificed to idols, cannot assume to themselves the priesthood, or make any prayer in God's sight for the brethren."<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Εὐχαριστίας γὰρ ἑπακούσαντα, καὶ συνεπιφθεγξάμενον, τὸ Ἀμήν. Apud Euseb. lib. 7, cap. 9, p. 255.

<sup>b</sup> In precibus quas faciunt pro plebis Dominicæ incolumitate. Epist. 68, § 2, p. 201.

<sup>c</sup> Qui idolis sacrificando sacrilega sacrificia fecerunt, sacerdotium Dei sibi vindicare non possunt, nec ullam in conspectu ejus precem pro fratribus facere. Epist. 64, § 2, p. 190.

“ Therefore those ought to be chosen into the priesthood whom God will hear.”<sup>a</sup> It was the priest that solely pronounced the public prayers, without the voices of the people ; and, indeed, it was impossible for the people to respond, since they had no fixed public form of prayer, except the Lord’s prayer ; which Lord’s prayer they frequently, though not always, repeated. And then, as to their other prayers, every bishop or minister of a parish was left to his own liberty and ability therein.

§ 6. As for the use of the Lord’s prayer, it must first be observed, that the constant repeating of it with other prayers was not esteemed necessary, but frequently it was omitted. Thus, in the heavenly prayer of Polycarpus at the stake, the Lord’s prayer is neither at the beginning nor ending. The conclusion of it is, “ Lord, I will praise thee, I will bless thee, I will magnify thee through the eternal High Priest, Christ Jesus, thy beloved Son, by whom, to thee, with him, and the Holy Ghost, be glory now and for evermore, Amen.”<sup>b</sup> So Clemens Alexandrinus concludes his last book of Pedagogy with a prayer which neither ends nor begins with the Lord’s prayer ; and Origen, prescribing a method of prayer, speaks not a word of the Lord’s prayer, but advises both to begin and end with doxology, or a giving praise to God.<sup>c</sup> In this respect they regarded the Lord’s prayer as given by Christ for a pattern of all other prayers, according to which they were to be made ; whence Cyprian calls this prayer, “ the law or rule of praying ;”<sup>d</sup> “ so that to pray otherwise than

<sup>a</sup> Oportet eos ad sacerdotium deligi, quos à Deo constet audiri. Epist. 68, § 3, p. 201.

<sup>b</sup> Σὲ αἰνῶ, σὲ εὐλογῶ, σὲ δοξάζω, διὰ τοῦ αἰωνίου ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σοῦ παιδός, δι’ οὗ σοὶ σὺν αὐτῷ ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ δόξα, καὶ νῦν, καὶ εἰς τοὺς μέλλοντας αἰῶνας, Ἀμήν. Apud Euseb. lib. 4, cap. 15, p. 133.

<sup>c</sup> De Oratione, § 22, pp. 134, 135.

<sup>d</sup> Orandi legem. De Unit. Ecclesiæ. § 11, p. 299.

that prayer directed was ignorance and impiety.”<sup>a</sup> “Wherefore,” says Cyprian, “let every one pray to God, not only for himself, but for all the brethren, as the Lord hath taught us to pray for all.”<sup>b</sup> And so writes Clemens Alexandrinus, “that a good man never remembers the affronts that are offered him, but always forgets them; wherefore he justly prays, saying, ‘Forgive us as we forgive others;’”<sup>c</sup> that is, he prays according to the sense of the fifth petition; for it is the sense, not the very words of that petition, that he here recites.

But though the repetition of the Lord’s prayer was not necessary, yet it was usual; whence saith Origen, “Christ gave us a prayer with which he commanded us to pray unto the Father.”<sup>d</sup> And Tertullian writes, “That our Lord Jesus Christ gave to his disciples a new form of prayer.”<sup>e</sup> Whence he calls the Lord’s prayer, “the lawful prayer.”<sup>f</sup> And Cyprian yet more fully writes, that “Christ hath given us a form of prayer; he hath admonished and instructed what we should pray for. He that made us live, hath taught us to pray; that whilst we offer unto the Father the prayer which the Son taught, we may be the more easily heard. For what prayer can be more spiritual than that which was given us by Christ, who gave us also the Holy Spirit? And what prayer can be more prevalent with God than that of his Son, who is the truth, proceeding out of his mouth? So that to pray

<sup>a</sup> Ut aliter orare quam docuit, non ignorantia sola sit, sed et culpa. De Orat. Dominic. § 1, p. 309.

<sup>b</sup> Unusquisque oret Deum non pro se tantum, sed pro omnibus fratribus, sicut Dominus orare nos docuit. Epist. 8, § 6, p. 24.

<sup>c</sup> Οὐδέποτε τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἁμαρτησάντων μέμνηται, ἀλλὰ ἀφίησι, διὰ καὶ δικαίως εὐχεται, ἄφες ἡμῖν, λέγων, καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν. Strom. lib. 7, p. 537.

<sup>d</sup> Qua Patrem—nos jussit orare. In Isaiam, Homil. 1.

<sup>e</sup> Novam orationis formam determinavit. De Oratione, p. 657.

<sup>f</sup> Legitima Oratio. De fuga in Persecut. p. 496.

otherwise than he hath taught, is both ignorance and impiety. Let us pray, therefore, dearly beloved brethren, as God our Master hath taught us. It is a friendly and familiar prayer to ask God with his own, and to present the prayer of Christ to his ears; the Father will acknowledge his Son's words. When we pray, let him that dwells in the heart be in the voice; and since we have him an advocate with the Father for our sins, when we beg pardon for our sins let us use the words of our Advocate. And since he says, that whatsoever we shall ask of the Father in his name, he will give it us; how much more efficaciously shall we prevail for what we beg in Christ's name, if we ask it in his prayer?"<sup>a</sup> To this prayer it is that Tertullian gives this encomium:—"In the compendium of a few words, how many declarations of prophets, evangelists, and apostles; how many speeches, parables, examples, and precepts, are contained! How many duties toward God! Honour to God in the preface, faith in the first petition, hope in the second, resignation in the third, petition for life in the fourth, confession of sins in the fifth, watchfulness against temptation in the sixth. What

<sup>a</sup> Orandi ipse formam dedit, ipse quid precaremur monuit et instruxit: qui fecit vivere, docuit et orare—ut dum prece et oratione quam filius docuit, apud patrem loquimur, facilius audiamur—Quæ enim potest esse magis spiritualis oratio, quam quæ verè à Christo nobis data est, à quo nobis et Spiritus Sanctus missus est? Quæ verè magis apud Patrem precatio, quam quæ à filio, qui est veritas, de ejus ore prolata est? Ut aliter orare quam docuit, non ignorantia sola sit, sed et culpa—Oremus itaque fratres dilectissimi, sicut Magister Deus docuit. Amica et familiaris oratio est Deum de suo rogare, ad aures ejus ascendere Christi orationem, agnoscat Pater Filii sui verba: cum precem facimus, qui habitat intus in pectore, ipse sit et in voce: et cum ipsum habeamus apud Patrem Advocatum pro peccatis nostris, quando peccatores pro delictis nostris petimus, Advocati nostri verba preamamus. Nam cum dicat, quia quodcumque petierimus à Patre in nomine ejus, dabit nobis: quantò efficacius impetramus quod petimus in Christi nomine, si petamus ipsius oratione? De Orat. Dominic. § 1, 2, p. 309.

wonder! God alone could teach how he would be prayed to."<sup>a</sup>

§ 7. But though they frequently used the Lord's prayer, yet they did not only use that, but others also; for immediately to the foregoing encomium of the Lord's prayer, Tertullian adjoins, "That we may add thereunto, and offer up prayers unto God according to the variety of our circumstances and condition."<sup>b</sup> From which passage of the said father, we may guess their usual method of prayer was, first to begin with the Lord's prayer, as the ground and foundation of all others; and then, according to their circumstances and conditions, to offer up their own prayers and requests. Now that this conjecture may appear to have some foundation, it will be necessary to translate at large this place of Tertullian, and to show the introduction or occasion of it, which was this:—After this father had, as before, commented on, summed up, and magnified the Lord's prayer, he concludes, that nevertheless "we may add thereunto; for since the Lord, the observer of all human necessities, has, in another place, after he had delivered this prayer, said, 'Ask, and ye shall receive;' and every one has particular circumstances to beg for; therefore, having premised the lawful and ordinary prayer, there is place for accidental requests, and a liberty of offering up other petitions, so as they do agree with the precepts. As far as we are from the precepts, so far are we from God's ears; the remembrance of the precepts

<sup>a</sup> *Compendiis paucorum verborum, quot attinguntur dicta prophetarum, evangeliorum, apostolorum, sermones Domini, parabolæ, exempla, præcepta! Quot simul expunguntur officia Dei, honor in patre; fides, testimonium in nomine, oblatio obsequii in voluntate, commemoratio spei in regno, petitio vitæ in pane, exomologesis debitorum in deprecatione, sollicitudo tentationum in postulatione tutelæ! Quid mirum! Deus solus docere potuit, ut se vellet orari. De Orat. p. 659.*

<sup>b</sup> *Posse nos super adjicere—et sunt quæ petantur pro circumstantiâ cujusque. De Oratione, p. 659.*

makes way for our prayers to heaven, of which it is the chief."<sup>a</sup>

Now these other prayers, which made up a great part of divine service, were not stinted and imposed forms, but the words and expressions of them were left to the prudence, choice, and judgment of every particular bishop or minister.

I do not here say that a bishop or minister used no arbitrary form of prayer; all that I say is, that there was none imposed. Neither do I say, that having no imposed form, they unpremeditatedly, immethodically, or confusedly, vented their petitions and requests; for, without doubt, they observed a method in their prayers; but this is what I say, that the words or expressions of their prayers were not imposed or prescribed; but every one that officiated delivered himself in such terms as best pleased him, and varied his petitions according to the present circumstances and emergencies; or, if it be more intelligible, that the primitive Christians had no stinted liturgies, or imposed forms of prayer.

Now this being a negative in matter of fact, the bare assertion of it is a sufficient proof, except its affirmative can be evinced. Suppose it was disputed whether ever Saint Paul wrote an epistle to the church of Rome, the bare negation thereof would be proof enough that he did not, except it could be clearly evinced on the contrary that he did. So, unless it can be proved that the ancients had

<sup>a</sup> *Posse nos super adicere. Quoniam tamen Dominus, prospector humanarum necessitatum, seorsim post traditam orandi disciplinam, petite, inquit, et accipietis, et sunt quæ petantur, pro circumstantiâ cujusque, præmissâ legitimâ et ordinariâ oratione quasi fundamento, accidentium jus est desideriorum, jus est superstruendi extrinsecus petitiones cum memoria tamen præceptorum: ne quantum à præceptis, tantum ab auribus Dei longè simus. Memoria præceptorum viam orationibus sternit ad cælum, quorum præcipuum est. De Oratione, p. 659.*



fixed liturgies and prayer-books, we may very rationally conclude in the negative, that they had none at all.

Now, as to these prescribed forms, there is not the least mention of them in any of the primitive writings, nor the least word or syllable tending thereunto, that I can find; which is a most unaccountable silence, if ever such there were, but rather some expressions intimating the contrary; as that famous controverted place of Justin Martyr; who, describing the manner of the prayer before the celebration of the Lord's supper, says, that the bishop sent up prayers and praises to God "with his utmost ability,"<sup>a</sup> *δση δύναμις*, that is, that he prayed with the best of his abilities, invention, expression, judgment, and the like. I am not ignorant that there is another sense given of *δση δύναμις*, or, "according to his ability." But I must needs say, that I generally, if not always, found this phrase to include personal abilities. Thus, as to the explanation of Scripture, Origen writes, that he would expound it, "according to his ability," *δση δύναμις*,<sup>b</sup> and that he would comment on that parable of the blind man that was healed near Jericho, mentioned in Luke xviii, 35, *κατὰ τὸ δύνατον*,<sup>c</sup> and so on the parable concerning the husbandman, *κατὰ δύναμιν*;<sup>d</sup> and on the marriage of the king's son, *κατὰ τὴν παροῦσαν δύναμιν*;<sup>e</sup> and that he would search out the sense of the gospel of St. John, *κατὰ δύναμιν*.<sup>f</sup> Now what doth Origen intend by his searching out the sense, and expounding the meaning of the Scriptures to the utmost of his power and ability? Is it a bare reading and transcribing of other men's works, or an employment of his own abilities and studies to find out the sense and meaning of them? Certainly every one will think the latter to be most probable.

So as to the argumentative defence of the truth, Origen

<sup>a</sup> Apolog. 2, p. 98.

<sup>b</sup> Com. in Matth. tom. 17, p. 487, vol. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Com. in Matth. tom. 16, p. 429, vol. 1.    <sup>d</sup> Ibid. tom. 17, p. 463.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. tom. 17, p. 474.

<sup>f</sup> Com. in Johan. tom. 1, p. 5, vol. 2.

promises that he would answer the calumnies of Celsus "according to his power," κατὰ τὴν παροῦσαν δύναμιν;<sup>a</sup> and that he would defend and confirm his arguments against Celsus "according to his power," δὴ δύναμις;<sup>b</sup> and demonstrate the reasonableness of the Christian religion, "according to his power," δὴ δύναμις;<sup>c</sup> and dispute against Celsus "according to his power," δὴ δύναμις.<sup>d</sup> Now whether Origen's defending the truth, and disputing against Celsus, according to his utmost ability and power, consisted in reading, or in a bare transcribing out of a book the written arguments of other men, or in an employment of his own abilities, inventions, and expressions, is no difficult matter to determine.

I have not found one place wherein this phrase of δὴ δύναμις doth not comprehend personal abilities; and several scores more might I cite where it is so to be understood, which I shall omit, and mention only one more, spoken by Origen with respect to the duty of prayer, where it must of necessity imply personal abilities, and that is in his book *De Oratione*,<sup>e</sup> where he prescribes the methods and parts of prayer, the first whereof was doxology; wherein, says he, he that prays must bless God "according to his power," κατὰ δύναμιν, where κατὰ δύναμιν must signify the performer's abilities of judgment and expression, because it is not spoken of prescribed words, but of a prescribed method of prayer; as if any one should desire me to inform him how or in what method he must pray; I tell him, as Origen doth in this place, that first he must begin with an invocation of God by his titles and attributes; then he must proceed to praise God for his mercies and benefits, confessing withal his ingratitude and unfruitfulness: then beg pardon for past sins, strength against future, and conclude all with praising God through

<sup>a</sup> Contra Celsum, lib. 1, p. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. lib. 1, p. 36.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. lib. 6, p. 265.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. lib. 7, p. 332.

<sup>e</sup> § 22, p. 134.

Christ, and that he must do all this according to the utmost of his ability. What could any one imagine that I should intend by this advice, of following this method to the utmost of his power, but by the exerting of his own abilities, understanding, memory, invention, expression, and the like, since I direct him not to any prescribed words, but only to the observation of those general heads and parts of prayer?

So that the minister's praying *δὴ δύναιμι*, or "according to the utmost of his ability," imports the exerting his gifts and parts in suitable manner and apt expressions; and that the primitive prayers were so, appears yet farther from a passage in Origen, who thus explains that verse in Matthew vi, "But, when ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathen do." "But, when we pray, let us not battologize," that is, use not vain repetitions, "but theologize. But we battologize when we do not strictly observe ourselves, or the words of prayer which we express when we utter those things which are filthy either to do, speak, or think; which are vile, worthily reproveable, and alienated from the purity of the Lord."<sup>a</sup> Surely this caution had been needless of strictly observing the words that they uttered; and this fear had been groundless of expressing themselves undecently or sinfully, if they had had a prayer-book to recur to; but that they had no such prayer-book appears yet more evidently from Tertullian, who, describing their public prayers, says that "looking up to heaven, they spread abroad their hands, because innocent; uncovered their heads, because not ashamed; and without a

<sup>a</sup> Ἄλλὰ προσευχόμενοι, μὴ βαττολογήσωμεν, ἀλλὰ θεολογήσωμεν· βαττολογοῦμεν δὲ ὅτι μὴ μωμοσκοποῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ἢ τοὺς ἀναπεμπομένους τῆς εὐχῆς λόγους λέγομεν τὰ διεφθαρμένα ἔργα, ἢ λόγους, ἢ νοήματα ταπεινὰ τυγχάνοντα καὶ ἐπίληπτα, τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἀλλότρια τοῦ Κυρίου. De Oratione, § 10, p. 63.

monitor, because they prayed from the heart."<sup>a</sup> Now what is to be understood by praying from the heart will best appear from inquiring into what is opposed to it, viz., the praying by a monitor. Now the praying by a monitor, as is acknowledged by all, was praying by a book. But thus, Tertullian affirms, the primitive Christians prayed not. "We do not pray," saith he, "with a monitor, reading our prayers out of a book; no, but on the contrary, we pray, *de pectore*, from the heart, our own heart and soul dictating to us what is most proper and suitable to be asked, having no need of any other monitor besides."

Hence their prayers were suited to their emergencies and present circumstances, as Tertullian writes, that "having premised the Lord's prayer, we may offer up accidental requests and petitions,"<sup>b</sup> of which occasional requests we find some instances, as in the sixteenth epistle of Cyprian, where that father assures Moses and Maximus, two Roman confessors, "that he remembered them in his public prayers with his congregation."<sup>c</sup> And in another epistle, where he congratulates Pope Lucius upon his return from banishment, he assures him, "that he did not cease in his public prayers to bless God for so great a mercy, and to pray him that was perfect to keep and perfect in him the glorious crown of his confession."<sup>d</sup> And

<sup>a</sup> Illuc suspicientes Christiani manibus expansis, quia innocuis, capite nudo, quia non erubescimus, denique sine monitore, quia de pectore oramus. Apolog. cap. 30, p. 703.

<sup>b</sup> Præmissâ legitimâ et ordinariâ oratione, accidentium jus est desideriorum. De Orat. p. 659.

<sup>c</sup> Et quando in sacrificiis precem cum plurimis facimus. Epist. 16. § 1, p. 44.

<sup>d</sup> Hic quoque in sacrificiis atque in orationibus nostris non cessantes Deo—gratias agere, et orare pariter, ac petere, ut qui perfectus est atque perficiens, custodiat et perficiat in vobis confessionis vestræ gloriosam coronam. Epist. 58, § 2, p. 163.

so when the church of Carthage sent a sum of money to the bishops of Numidia for the redemption of some Christian captives, they desired those bishops "to remember them in their public prayers."<sup>a</sup> So that their prayers could not be stinted, in invariable forms, because they could add new petitions, as their occasions and circumstances did require.

Firmilian reports of an exorcist woman that, being acted by the devil, she did wondrous feats, taking upon her to perform ecclesiastical administrations, as to baptize and celebrate the eucharist, the elements whereof she consecrated, "with an invocation not to be despised,"<sup>b</sup> that is, as seems to be most agreeable unto the place, and to the *δοξὸν δυνάμεις* of Justin Martyr. The matter, invention, and expression of that prayer wherewith she consecrated the elements, was not mean or contemptible, but indifferently well performed. So that it seems evident, that though the method of their prayers might, in the main, be the same, yet every one was left to follow his own fancy and expression therein.

But that I may hasten to the conclusion of this section, it is very unlikely that they were obliged to prescribed forms; because they never read a syllable of their prayers out of any book whatsoever, which is evident from their posture of prayer, which was twofold, either with their hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, or with their eyes shut. That they prayed with their eyes and hands lifted up to heaven has been already shown in the third section of this chapter, to which I shall only add this farther ob-

<sup>a</sup> In mentem habeatis in orationibus vestris, et eis vicem boni operis in sacrificiis et precibus representetis. Epist. 60, § 4, p. 167.

<sup>b</sup> Invocatione non contemptibili. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75, § 10, p. 238.

servation, that "they stretched out their hands in the figure of a cross."<sup>a</sup>

That they also prayed with their eyes shut, is evident from Origen, who, having explained what is meant by that injunction of our Saviour in Matthew vi, 5, "And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are: for they love to pray standing in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets that they may be seen of men. Verily I say unto you, They have their reward," thus explains the following verse: "But thou, when thou prayest, enter thou into thy closet, and when thou hast shut to thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly." "But he that is no hypocrite enters into the closet of his heart, to the riches that are treasured up there, and shutting himself in amongst those treasures of wisdom and knowledge, and not fixing his eyes on external objects, as looking after any thing without, and closing every gate of the senses lest he should be drawn aside by them, and their species or fancies should creep into his mind, he prays to the Father, who never flies from or leaves such a one, but, together with the Son, dwells in him."<sup>b</sup> So the same father writes, that a true Christian prays in every place, "closing the eyes of his senses, but erecting those

<sup>a</sup> Expandimus manus et dominica passione modulantes et orantes confitemur Christo. Tertul. de Orat. p. 659.

<sup>b</sup> Ὁ δὲ μὴ ὑποκριτῆς εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὸ ἐαυτοῦ ταμεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐναποτε-  
θησαυρισμένου πλούτου, τὸν τῆς σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως θησαυρὸν ἐαυτῷ  
ἀποκλείσας, καὶ μηδαμῶς ἔξω νεύων, μὴ δὲ περὶ τὰ ἔξω κεκηνῶς, πᾶσαν  
τε τὴν θύραν τῶν αἰσθητηρίων ἀποκλείσας, ἵνα μὴ ἔλκεται ὑπὸ τῶν  
αἰσθήσεων μηδὲ ἐκείνων ἡ φαντασία τῷ νῷ αὐτοῦ ἐπαισκρίνηται, προσ-  
εύχεται τῷ τὶ τοιοῦτον κρυπτὸν μὴ φεύγοντι, μηδὲ ἐγκαταλείποντι  
Πατρὶ, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικοῦντι συμπαραντος αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ Μονογε-  
νοῦς. De Orat. § 9, pp. 62, 63.

of his mind.”<sup>a</sup> Now let them have prayed in either of these postures, and it is very evident that they could read in either of them ; for it is very improbable that they could turn over the leaves of a book whilst their hands were extended toward heaven in the form of a cross ; or that they could read in a book whilst their eyes were lifted up, or else quite shut and closed.

If therefore there had been prescribed and imposed forms, they must of necessity have remembered them, which would have been an intolerable load to the strongest memory, especially to have repeated, word after word, the prayers of their fast days, which must have been several hours long, since some of their fasts, as will be shown in another place, were prolonged from the morning of one day to the beginning of another.

§ 8. There remains now but one question more with respect to their public prayers, and that is, whether they were divided into several collects ? To which I have not much certain to answer ; probably on their assemblies on fast days, when they continued together treble the usual time, for the ease of the bishop and his assistants, they made several distinct prayers, and probably at their ordinary meetings, their prayer after sermon was but one entire piece. But all this is but conjecture ; all that I find positive is touching their prayer that preceded the consecration of the eucharistical elements, which, as Justin Martyr writes, “ was one long prayer, to which the people said, Amen.”<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Μύσας τοὺς τῆς αἰσθήσεως ὀφθαλμοὺς, καὶ ἐγείρας τοὺς τῆς ψυχῆς. Contra Celsum. lib. 7, p. 362.

<sup>b</sup> Εὐχαρισίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατηξιῶσθαι τούτων παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ποιεῖται, οὐ συντελέσαντος τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαρισίαν, πᾶς ὁ παρῶν λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων, Ἀμήν. Apolog. 2, p. 97.

## CHAPTER III.

1. Of baptism: the persons baptizing. § 2. The persons baptized: first, infants. § 3. Next, adult persons. The qualifications that were required in them. § 4. The manner of baptism: the person to be baptized abjured the devil, the world, and the flesh, and gave his assent to the fundamental articles of the Christian faith. § 5. A digression concerning the ancient creed. The creed commonly called the apostles', not known within the first three hundred years after Christ. In those days they had other brief summaries of faith, agreeing in sense, but not in words. § 6. All the ancient creeds transcribed in their original language. § 7. The creed, commonly called the apostles', compared with the ancient creeds. § 8. How the creed was composed.

§ 1. HAVING in the former chapter discoursed of their public prayers, I proceed, in the next place, to consider the two sacraments, viz., baptism and the Lord's supper; and first of all, to treat of that of baptism, together with its appendix and confirmation; for the more methodical and distinct handling whereof I shall inquire into these three things, viz., The persons baptizing, the persons baptized, and the manner of baptism.

First, as to the persons baptizing, usually they were the bishops or pastors of their respective parishes. Justin Martyr describes baptism as performed by the *πρωτοϋργον*, or 'president';<sup>a</sup> and Tertullian by the antistes, or "superintendent;"<sup>b</sup> and "by the high priest, who is the bishop;"<sup>c</sup> but "with his permission and consent, it was allowed to presbyters and deacons; and, in case of necessity, even to laymen to baptize;"<sup>d</sup> "but never, under any necessity whatsoever, was it permitted to a woman so to do."<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Apolog. 2, p. 97.

<sup>b</sup> De Coron. Milit. p. 386.

<sup>c</sup> Summus sacerdos qui est episcopus. De Baptism. p. 603.

<sup>d</sup> Dehinc presbyteri et diaconi, non tamen sine episcopi auctoritate — Laicis etiam jus est — sufficiat in necessitatibus. Ibidem, pp. 602, 603.

<sup>e</sup> Mulier non tingendi jus sibi pariet. Ibid. p. 603.



§ 2. As for the persons that were baptized, they were two sorts, either infants or adult persons. That infants were baptized, will be evident from this single consideration: baptism was always precedent to the Lord's supper; and none were admitted to receive the eucharist till they were baptized. This is so obvious to every man that it needs no proof: if any one doubts it, he may find it clearly asserted in the Second Apology of Justin Martyr, p. 97. Children received the eucharist in the primitive church, which is also a thing so well known, as that for the proof of it I shall only urge one passage of Cyprian's, where he tells a long story of a sucking girl, who so violently refused to taste the sacramental wine, "that the deacon was obliged forcibly to open her lips, and to pour down the consecrated wine."<sup>a</sup> Therefore it naturally follows, that children were baptized; for if they received that ordinance, which always succeeded baptism, then, of necessity, they must have received baptism itself. But I needed not to have mentioned this consideration, since infant baptism is as clearly asserted in words at length in the primitive writings as a thing can possibly be. Thus Origen writes, that "children are baptized for the remission of their sins, for the purging away of their natural filth and original impurity, which is inherent in them, according to Job xv, 14, 'What is man, that he should be clean? and he that is born of a woman, that he should be righteous?' And that of the prophet Isaiah, chap. iv, ver. 4, 'When the Lord shall have washed away the filth of the daughter of Sion, and shall have purged the blood of Jerusalem from the midst thereof.' No one is clean from the filth; no, though he lived but one day upon the earth. Wherefore, because through the sacrament of baptism, the uncleannesses of our birth are purged away, therefore

<sup>a</sup> Diaconus reluctanti licet de sacramento calicis infudit. De lapsis, § 20, p. 284.

children are baptized.”<sup>a</sup> And the same father, commenting on that place of our Saviour, Matthew xviii, 10, “See that ye despise not one of these little ones,” alleges this as one reason why we should not do so, because of the angels that guard them; on which reason he makes this query, “At what time the angels begin their guardianship over those little ones, whether at the time of their birth or their baptism?”<sup>b</sup> So that little ones were baptized; by which little ones he means infants and children, as is most evident from those other titles which he gives them in the same tome, as *παιδια*, “little children,” *νήπια*, “infants;” and in one place he supposes them to be “under three or four years old.”<sup>c</sup>

To these testimonies of Origen I might also add those of Iræneus, lib. ii, cap. 39, p. 137, and of Cyprian, *De Lapsis*, § 7, p. 279. But I shall choose to waive them, because I would willingly translate at length the determination of an African synod, held anno 254, whereat were present threescore and six bishops; the occasion of which determination was this: A certain bishop, called Fidus, had some scruples, not concerning the baptism of infants, but concerning the time of their baptism, whether they might be baptized before the second or third day after their birth, or before the eighth day, as it was observed with respect to circumcision under the Mosaical economy;

<sup>a</sup> *Parvuli baptizantur in remissionem peccatorum; quorum peccatorum? Vel quo tempore peccaverunt? Aut quomodo potest ulla lavacri in parvulis ratio subsistere, nisi juxta illum sensum de quo paulo ante diximus, nullus mundus à sorde, nec si unius diei quidem fuerit vita ejus super terram? Et quia per baptismi sacramentum natiuitatis sorde deponuntur, propterea baptizantur et parvuli. In Lucam. Homil. 14.*

<sup>b</sup> *Πότε τῶν δεικνυμένων τῶν ἐπὶ σωτῆρος μικρῶν οἱ λεγόμενοι αὐτῶν ἄγγελοι προΐστανται, πότερον δεξάμενοι τὴν οἰκονομίαν περὶ αὐτοὺς διοικεῖν ἢ ὅδ' διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας—ἢ ἀπὸ γενέσεως; Comment. in Mat. tom. 13, p. 331, vol. 1.*

<sup>c</sup> *Μέχρι τριῶν καὶ τετάρτων ἐτῶν. Ibid. p. 331.*

the reasons or grounds for which his scruples he proposed to this synod, who, having seriously examined them, unanimously decreed, that children's baptism was not to be deferred so long, but that the grace of God, or baptism, should be given to all, and most especially unto infants; which synodical decree, because so pertinent to my purpose, I have at large transcribed, as follows:—

Quantum verò ad causam infantium pertinet, quos dixisti intra secundum vel tertium diem quo nati sint constitutos baptizari non oportere; et considerandam esse legem circumcisionis antiquæ, ut intra octavum diem eum qui natus est baptizandum et sanctificandum non putares; longe aliud in concilio nostro omnibus visum est; in hoc enim quod tu putabas esse faciendum, nemo consensit, sed universi potius judicavimus, nulli hominum nato misericordiam Dei et gratiam denegandam; nam cum Dominus in evangelio suo dicat, Filius hominis non venit animas hominum perdere, sed salvare; quantum in nobis est, si fieri potest, nulla anima perdenda est. Quid enim ei deest, qui semel in utero, Dei manibus formatus est? Nobis enim atque oculis nostris, secundum dierum secularium cursum, accipere qui nati sunt incrementum videntur: cæterum quæcunque à Deo fiunt, Dei factoris majestate et opere perfecta sunt. Esse denique apud omnes, sive infantes, sive majores natu, unam divini muneris æqualitatem, declarat nobis divinæ Scripturæ fides, cum Helisæus super infantem Sunamitis viduæ filium qui mortuus jacebat, ita se Deum deprecans superstravit, ut capiti caput, et faciei facies applicaretur, et superfusi Helisæi membra singulis parvuli membris et pedes pedibus jungerentur. Quæ res si secundum nativitatis nostræ et corporis qualitatem cogitetur, adulto et provecto infans non posset æquari, nec cohærere et sufficere possent parva membra majoribus. Sed illic æqualitas divina et spiritualis

exprimitur, quod pares atque æquales sint omnes homines, quando à Deo semel facti sint, et possit ætas nostra in incrementis corporum secundum sæculum, non secundum Deum habere discrimen; nisi si et gratia ipsa, quæ baptizatis datur, pro ætate accipientium vel minor, vel major tribuitur; cum Spiritus Sanctus non de mensura, sed de pietate atque indulgentia paterna æqualis omnibus præbeatur. Nam Deus ut personam non accipit, sic nec ætatem, cum se omnibus ad cœlestis gratiæ consecutionem æqualitate librata præbeat patrem.

Nam et quod vestigium infantis, in primis partus sui diebus constituti, mundum non esse dixisti, quod unusquisque nostrum adhuc horreat exosculari, nec hoc putamus ad cœlestem gratiam dandam impedimento esse oportere; scriptum est enim, omnia munda sunt mundis; nec aliquis nostrum id debet horrere, quod Deus dignatus est facere. Nam etsi adhuc infans à partu novus est, non ita est tamen, ut quisquam illum in gratia danda atque in pace facienda horrere debeat osculari, quando in osculo infantis unusquisque nostrum pro sua religione ipsas adhuc recentes Dei manus debeat cogitare, quas in homine modo formato et recens nato quodammodo exosculamur, quando id quod Deus fecit, amplectimur. Nam quod in Judaica circumcisione carnali octavus dies observabatur, sacramentum est in umbra atque in imagine ante præmissum, sed veniente Christo veritate completum. Nam quia octavus dies, id est, post sabbatum primus dies futurus erat, quo Dominus resurgeret, et nos vivificaret, et circumcisionem nobis spiritualem daret, hic dies octavus, id est, post sabbatum primus, et Dominicus præcessit in imagine, quæ imago cessavit superveniente postmodum veritate, et data nobis spirituali circumcisione. Propter quod neminem putamus à gratia consequenda impediendum esse ea lege quæ jam statuta est; nec spiritualem circumcisionem impediri carnali circumcisione debere; sed omnem omnino

hominem admittendum esse ad gratiam Christi, quando et Petrus in Actibus Apostolorum loquatur, et dicat, Dominus mihi dixit, neminem communem dicendum et immundum.

Cæterum si homines impedire aliquid ad consecutionem gratiæ posset ; magis adultos et provectos et majores natu possent impedire peccata graviora. Porro autem si etiam gravissimis delictoribus et in Deum multum ante peccantibus, cum postea crediderint, remissa peccatorum datur, et à baptismo atque à gratia nemo prohibetur ; quanto magis prohiberi non debet infans, qui recens natus nihil peccavit, nisi quod secundum Adam carnaliter natus contagium mortis antiquæ prima nativitate contraxit ? Qui ad remissam peccatorum accipiendam hoc ipso facilius accedit, quod illi remittuntur non propria, sed aliena peccata. Et idcirco, frater charissime, hæc fuit in concilio nostra sententia, à baptismo atque à gratia Dei, qui omnibus misericors et benignus, et pius est, neminem per nos debere prohiberi. Quod cum circa universos observandum sit atque retinendum, tum magis circa infantes ipsos et recens natos observandum putamus, qui hoc ipso de ope nostra, ac de divina misericordia plus merentur, quod in primo statim nativitatis suæ ortu plorantes ac flentes nihil aliud faciunt quam deprecantur. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 59, § 2, 3, 4, pp. 164, 165.

“ As for the matter of infants, who, you said, were not to be baptized within the second or third day after their nativity, or, according to the law of circumcision, within the eighth day thereof ; it hath appeared to us in our council quite contrary : no one maintained your opinion, but we all judged, that the mercy and grace of God was to be denied to no man ; for since the Lord said in the gospel, The Son of man came not to destroy, but to save the souls of men ; therefore as much as lies in our power, no soul is to be lost ; for what is there defective in him who has

een once formed in the womb by the hands of God? To s indeed it seems, that children increase as they advance 1 years; but yet, whatever things are made by God are effected by the work and majesty of God their Maker. Besides, the Holy Scriptures declare, that both infants and dult persons have the same equality in the divine workmanship. When Elisha prayed over the dead child of the hunamitish widow, he lay upon the child, and put his ead upon his head, and his face upon his face, and his ody upon his body, and his feet upon his feet. This may e thought improbable, how the small members of an infant should equal the big ones of a grown man; but herein s expressed the divine and spiritual equality, that all men re equal, and alike, when they are made by God; that hough the increase of our bodies may cause an inequality rith respect to man, yet not with respect to God; unless hat that grace, which is given to baptized persons, be more r less according to the age of the receivers; but the Ioly Ghost is given equally to all, not according to measure, but according to God's mercy and indulgence; for s God is no respecter of persons, so neither of years; he qually offers to all the obtaining of his heavenly grace.

“And whereas you say that an infant for the first days fter his birth is unclean, so that every one is afraid to kiss im, this can be no impediment to his obtainment of eavenly grace; for it is written, ‘to the pure all things re pure;’ and none of us should dread that which God ath made; for although an infant be newly born, yet he s not so as that we should dread to kiss him; since, in the issing of an infant, we ought to think upon the fresh works of God, which in a manner we kiss in an infant newly ormed and born, when we embrace that which God hath made.\* And whereas the carnal Jewish circumcision was

\* This they speak with reference to their custom of saluting one another at the conclusion of their public assemblies.

performed on the eighth day, that was a type and shadow of some future good thing, which Christ, the truth, being now come, is done away : because the eighth day, or the first day after the sabbath, was to be the day on which our Lord should rise and quicken us, and give us the spiritual circumcision ; therefore was the carnal circumcision on the eighth day, which type is now abolished, Christ the truth being come, and having given us the spiritual circumcision. Wherefore it is our judgment, that no one ought to be debarred from God's grace by that law, or that the spiritual circumcision should be hindered by the carnal one ; but all men ought to be admitted to the grace of Christ, as Peter saith in the Acts of the Apostles, that the Lord said unto him, that he should call no man common or unclean.

“ But if any thing can hinder men from baptism, it will be heinous sins that will debar the adult and mature therefrom ; and if those who have sinned extremely against God, yet if afterward they believe, are baptized, and no man is prohibited from this grace, how much more ought not an infant to be prohibited, who, being but just born, is guilty of no sin, but of original, which he contracted from Adam ? who ought the more readily to be received to the remission of sins, because not his own, but others' sins are remitted to him. Wherefore, dearly beloved, it is our opinion, that from baptism, and the grace of God, who is merciful, kind, and benign to all, none ought to be prohibited by us, which, as it is to be observed and followed with respect to all, so especially with respect to infants, and those that are but just born, who deserve our help, and the divine mercy, because at the first instant of their nativity they beg it by their cries and tears.”

So that here is as formal a synodical decree for the baptism of infants as possibly can be expected ; which,

being the judgment of a synod, is more authentic and cogent than that of a private father, it being supposable that a private father might write his own particular judgment and opinion, but the determinations of a synod or council denote the common practice and usage of the whole church.

§ 3. It is evident, then, that infants were baptized in the primitive ages; and as for the baptism of the adult, that being owned by all, it will be needless to prove it. These were persons grown in years, able to judge and choose for themselves, who relinquished paganism, and came over to the Christian faith. What qualifications were required in them previous or antecedent to baptism I need not here relate, since I have already handled this point in the sixth chapter of the former treatise, to which I refer the reader. In short, such as these were first instructed in the Christian faith, continued some time in the rank of the catechumens, till “they had given good proofs of their resolutions to lead a pious, religious life, and had protested their assent and consent to all the Christian verities, and then they were solemnly baptized.”<sup>a</sup> Which brings me to the third thing proposed, viz., the manner of baptism, which, for the main, was as follows:—

§ 4. The person to be baptized was first asked several questions by the bishop, or by him that officiated, unto which he was to give his answer, concerning which baptismal questions and answers Dionysius Alexandrinus speaks in his letter to Xystus, bishop of Rome, wherein he writes of a certain scrupulous person in his church, who was exceedingly troubled, when he was present at baptism, and “heard the questions and answers of those that

<sup>a</sup> “Ὅσοι ἂν πεισθῶσι καὶ πεινεῶσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ’ ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βιοῦν οὕτως δύνασθαι ὑπισχνῶνται — ἔπειτα ἄγονται ὑφ’ ἡμῶν ἐνθα ὑδωρ ἐστὶ, &c. Justin. Martyr. Apolog. 2, p. 93.



were baptized.”<sup>a</sup> Which questions Firmilian styles, “the lawful and usual interrogatories of baptism.”<sup>b</sup> Now these questions and answers were two-fold: first, of abjuration of the devil and all his works: and, secondly, of a firm assent to the articles of the Christian faith. First, of abjuration: the minister proposed this question to the party baptized, or to this effect, Do you renounce the devil, the world, and the flesh? To which he answered, Yes. So writes Tertullian, “When we are baptized, we renounce the world, the devil, and his angels.”<sup>c</sup> And “with our mouth we have vowed to renounce the world, the devil, and his angels.”<sup>d</sup> And “we have renounced the devil and his angels.”<sup>e</sup> And “thou hast covenanted to renounce the world, the devil, and his angels.”<sup>f</sup> And “we were called to the warfare of the living God, when we promised in the words of baptism.”<sup>g</sup> To the same effect also says Cyprian, “When we were baptized, we renounced the world.”<sup>h</sup> And “we have renounced the world, its pomps and delights.”<sup>i</sup> And “the servant of God has renounced

<sup>a</sup> Καὶ τῶν ἐπρωτῆσεων καὶ ἀποκρίσεων ἐπακούσας. Apud Euseb. lib. 7, cap. 9, p. 254.

<sup>b</sup> Usitata et legitima verba interrogationis. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75, § 10, p. 238.

<sup>c</sup> Contestamur nos renunciare diabolo et pompæ et angelis ejus. De Coronâ Militis, p. 336.

<sup>d</sup> Renunciâsse nos diabolo et angelis ejus ore nostro contestamur. De Spectac. p. 583.

<sup>e</sup> Renunciavimus diabolo, et pompæ, et angelis ejus. De Idololatriâ, p. 618.

<sup>f</sup> Pactus es renunciare diabolo, et pompæ, et angelis ejus. Lib. de Animâ, cap. 17, p. 554.

<sup>g</sup> Vocati sumus ad militiam Dei vivi, jam tunc cum in sacramenti verba spondimus. Ad Martyr. p. 367.

<sup>h</sup> Sæculo renunciaveramus cum baptizati sumus. Epist. 7, § 5, p. 20.

<sup>i</sup> Mundi pompis et deliciis jam tunc renunciavimus. De Hab. Virg. § 6, p. 267.

the devil and the world.”<sup>a</sup> And “we have renounced the world, and, by the faith of spiritual grace, have cast off its riches and pomps.”<sup>b</sup> And “we have renounced the devil and the world.”<sup>c</sup> And so likewise saith Clemens Alexandrinus, that in baptism “we renounced the devil.”<sup>d</sup>

The second question was, whether the party to be baptized did believe all the articles of the Christian faith, to which he answered, Yes, as Justin Martyr writes, “That those who were to be baptized were to give their assent to the things that were taught and held by them.”<sup>e</sup> So Cyprian writes, “That at baptism they asked the baptized person’s assent to this creed, whether he believed in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, remission of sins, and eternal life through the church?”<sup>f</sup> And that at baptism they asked, “Dost thou believe the life everlasting, and remission of sins through the holy church?”<sup>g</sup> These articles of faith to which the baptized persons gave their assent, are called by Cyprian, “the law of the symbol,”<sup>h</sup> and by Novatian, “the rule of truth.”<sup>i</sup>

§ 5. And here since we have mentioned the symbol, it will be no unuseful digression to inquire a little into the

<sup>a</sup> Dei servus—diabolo jam renunciârat et sæculo. De Lapsis, § 6, p. 279.

<sup>b</sup> Sæculo renunciavimus, et divitias ejus et pompas fide gratiæ spiritualis abjecimus. De Orat. Dom. § 14, p. 213.

<sup>c</sup> Diabolo et mundo renunciavimus. De Bono Patientiæ, § 7, p. 365.

<sup>d</sup> Ἀποτασσομένων ἡμῶν ταῖς πονηραῖς ἀρχαῖς. Theod. Epist. p. 573.

<sup>e</sup> Ὅσοι ὦν πεισθῶσι καὶ πιευνῶσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ’ ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, &c. Apolog. 2, p. 93.

<sup>f</sup> Symbolo baptizare, nôsse Deum Patrem, Filium Christum, Spiritum Sanctum, credis remissionem peccatorum, et vitam æternam per sanctam ecclesiam? Epist. 76, § 6, p. 248.

<sup>g</sup> Credis in vitam æternam, et remissionem peccatorum per sanctam ecclesiam? Epist. 70, § 2, p. 211.

<sup>h</sup> Symboli legem. Epist. 76, § 6, p. 248.

<sup>i</sup> Regula veritatis. De Trinitate inter Opera Tertul. p. 493.

ancient creeds ; for as for that creed which is commonly called the apostles', all learned persons are now agreed that it was never composed by them, neither do I find it within my prescribed time : but though they had not that, yet they had other creeds very like thereunto, which contained the fundamental articles of the Christian faith, unto which all Christians gave their assent and consent, and that publicly at baptism ; whence, as before, it is called by Cyprian, " the law of the symbol ;" and by Novatian, " the rule of truth."

This creed was handed down from father to son, as a brief summary of the necessary Scripture truths, not in ipsissimis verbis, or in the same set words, but only the sense or substance thereof, which is evident from hence, that we never find the creed twice repeated in the same words, no, not by one and the same father ; which, that it may the more manifestly appear, as also that we may see the congruity and affinity of the ancient creeds with our present creed, commonly called the apostles', I shall transcribe in their original language all the whole creeds, and pieces of creeds, that I find within my limited bounds, which, together with the authors wherein they are to be found, are as follows :—

§ 6. Κωφώθητε οὖν ὅταν ὑμῖν χωρὶς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ λαλῇ τις, τοῦ ἐκ γένους Δαβίδ, τοῦ ἐκ Μαρίας, ὃς ἀληθῶς ἐγεννήθη, ἐφαγέν τε καὶ ἐπιεν, ἀληθῶς ἐδιώχθη ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, ἀληθῶς ἐσαυρώθη, καὶ ἀπέθανεν, βλέπόντων τῶν ἐπουρανίων, ἐπιγείων, καὶ ὑποχθονίων· ὃς καὶ ἀληθῶς ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ νεκρῶν, ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν τοῦ Πατρὸς αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ ὁμοίωμα, ὡς καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς πιστεύοντας αὐτῷ σὺν αὐτῷ ἐγερεῖ ὁ Πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. Ignat. Epist. ad Tralles. p. 52.

Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐκκλησία καίπερ καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἕως περάτων τῆς γῆς διεσπαρμένη, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων μαθητῶν παραλαβοῦσα τὴν, εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὴν

πεποιηκότα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ τὰς θαλάσσας, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, πῖσιν· καὶ εἰς ἓνα Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν σαρκωθέντα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας, καὶ εἰς Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον τὸ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κεκηρυχὸς τὰς οἰκονομίας καὶ τὰς ἐλεύσεις, καὶ τὴν ἐκ παρθένου γέννησιν, καὶ τὸ πάθος, καὶ τὴν ἑγερσιν ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ τὴν ἔνσαρκον εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς ἀνάληψιν τοῦ ἡγαπημένου Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ Πατρὸς παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἀναστῆσαι πᾶσαν σάρκα πάσης ἀνθρωπότητος, ἵνα Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν καὶ Θεῷ, σωτῆρι, καὶ βασιλεῖ κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ Πατρὸς τοῦ ὁράτου πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ ἐπουρανίων, καὶ ἐπιγείων, καὶ καταχθονίων, καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσῃται αὐτῷ, καὶ κρίσιν δικαίαν ἐν τοῖς πᾶσι ποιήσῃται· τὸ μὲν πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας, καὶ ἀγγέλους τοὺς παραβεβηκότας, καὶ ἐν ἀποστασίᾳ γεγονότας, καὶ τοὺς ἄσεβεις καὶ ἀδίκους, καὶ ἀνόμους, καὶ βλασφῆμους τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ πέμψῃ· τοῖς δὲ δικαίοις καὶ δούλοις, καὶ τὰς ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ τητηρηκόσι, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ αὐτῆ διαμεμενηκόσι, τοῖς ὑπ' ἀρχῆς, τοῖς δὲ ἐκ μετανοίας, ζῶν χαρισάμενος, ἀφθαρσίαν δωρήσῃται, καὶ δόξαν αἰώνιον περιποιήσῃ. *Irenæus, lib. 1, cap. 2, pp. 35, 36.*

“Credo in unum Deum fabricatorem cœli ac terræ, et omnium quæ in eis sunt, per Christum Jesum Dei Filium, qui propter eminentissimam erga figmentum suum dilectionem, eam quæ esset ex virgine, generationem sustinuit, ipse per se hominem adunans Deo, et passus sub Pontio Pilato, et resurgens, et in claritate receptus, in gloria venturus Salvator eorum qui salvantur, et Judex eorum qui judicantur, et mittens in ignem æternum transfiguratores veritatis, et contemptores Patris sui et adventus ejus.” *Irenæus, lib. 3, cap. 4, p. 172.*

“Regula est autem fidei, ut jam hinc quid credamus, profiteatur, illâ scilicet, qua creditur unum omnino Deum esse, nec alium præter mundi creatorem, qui universa de



nihilo produxerit per verbum suum, primo omnium demissum: id verbum Filium ejus appellatum, nomine Dei, varie visum patriarchis, in prophetis semper auditum, postremo delatum ex Spiritu Patris Dei et virtute in Virginem Mariam, carnem factum in utero ejus, et ex ea natum, egisse Jesum Christum, exinde prædicasse novam legem et novam promissionem regni cælorum, virtutes fecisse, fixum cruci tertia die resurrexisse, in cælos ereptum, sedere ad dexteram Patris, misisse vicariam vim Spiritus Sancti, qui credentes agant, venturum cum claritate ad sumendos sanctos in vitæ æternæ, et promissorum cælestium fructum, et ad prophanos adjudicandos igni perpetuo, facta utriusque partis resuscitatione cum carnis restitutione. Hæc regula a Christo——instituta nullas habet apud nos quæstiones, nisi quas hæreses inferunt, et quæ hæreticos faciunt." Tertul. de Præscript. advers. Hæret. p. 73.

"Unicum quidem Deum credimus, sub hac tamen dispensatione quam *οικονομίαν* dicimus, ut unici Dei sit et Filius sermo ipsius, qui ex ipso processerit, per quem omnia facta sunt, et sine quo factum est nihil. Hunc missum a Patre in virginem, et ex ea natum hominem et Deum, Filium hominis et Filium Dei, et cognominatum Jesum Christum. Hunc passum, hunc mortuum et sepultum secundum Scripturas, et resuscitatum a Patre, et in cælo resumptum, sedere ad dexteram Patris, venturum judicare vivos et mortuos, qui exinde miserat secundum promissionem suam a Patre Spiritum Sanctum Paracletum, Sanctificatorem fidei eorum qui credunt in Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum. Hanc regulam ab initio evangelii decucurrisse, &c." Tertul. advers. Praxean. p. 316.

"Regula fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis et irreformabilis credendi scilicet in unicum Deum Omnipoten-

tem, mundi conditorem, et Filium ejus Jesum Christum, natum ex Virgine Maria, crucifixum sub Pontio Pilato, tertio die resuscitatum a mortuis, receptum in cœlis, sedentem nunc ad dexteram Patris, venturum judicare vivos et mortuos, per carnis etiam resurrectionem." Tertullian de Virginib. Veland. p. 385.

*Πισεύσον διτι εἰς ἐξιν ὁ Θεὸς, ὃ τὰ πάντα κτίσας, καὶ καταρτίσας, καὶ ποιήσας, ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι τὰ πάντα, χρὴ δὲ καὶ πιστεύειν διτι Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, καὶ πάσῃ τῇ περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸν Θεότητα καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα ἀληθείᾳ, δεῖ καὶ εἰς τὸ "Ἁγίον Πνεῦμα πιστεύειν· καὶ διτι αὐτεξούσιοι ὄντες κολαζόμεθα μὲν ἐφ' οἷς ἁμαρτάνομεν, τιμώμεθα δὲ ἐφ' οἷς εὖ πράττομεν.* Origen. Comment. in Johan. tom. 32, p. 397, vol. 2.

“Unus Deus est, qui omnia creavit, atque composuit, quique ex nullis fecit esse universa, Deus a prima creatura et conditione mundi omnium justorum, Deus Adam, Abel, Seth, Enos, &c. Et quod hic Deus in novissimis diebus, sicut per prophetas suos ante promiserat, misit Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, primo quidem vocaturum Israel, secundo vero etiam gentes post perfidiam populi Israel. Hic Deus justus et bonus Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, legem et prophetas et evangelia ipse dedit, qui et apostolorum Deus est, et Veteris et Novi Testamenti: tum deinde quia Jesus Christus ipse qui venit, ante omnem creaturam natus ex Patre est: qui cum in omnium conditione Patri ministrasset (per ipsum enim omnia facta sunt) novissimis temporibus seipsum exinaniens homo factus est, incarnatus est cum Deus esset, et homo mansit quod Deus erat. Corpus assumpsit corpori nostro simile, eo solo differens, quod natum ex virgine et Spiritu Sancto est, et quoniam hic Jesus Christus natus et passus est in veritate, et non per imaginem, communem hanc mortem vere mortuus est; vere enim a morte resurrexit, et post resurrectionem conversatus cum discipulis suis, assumptus est.

“Tum deinde honore ac dignitate Patri ac Filio sociatum tradiderunt Spiritum Sanctum. In hoc non jam manifeste discernitur, utrum natus aut innatus. Sed inquirenda jam ista pro viribus sunt de sacra Scriptura, et sagaci perquisitione investiganda, sane quod iste Spiritus Sanctus unumquemque sanctorum vel prophetarum, vel apostolorum inspiravit, et non alius Spiritus in veteribus, alius vero in his, qui in adventu Christi inspirati sunt, manifestissime in ecclesiis prædicatur. Post hæc jam, quod anima substantiam, vitamque habens propriam, cum ex hoc mundo discesserit, et pro suis meritis dispensabit, sive vitæ æternæ ac beatitudinis hæreditate potitura, si hoc ei sua gesta præstiterint; sive igne æterno ac suppliciis mancipanda, si in hoc eam scelorum culpa detorserit. Sed et quia erit tempus resurrectionis mortuorum, cum corpus hoc quod in corruptione seminatur, surget in incorruptione, et quod seminatur in ignominia, surget in gloria.” Origen in Proæm. lib. *περὶ ἀρχῶν*.

“Credis in Deum Patrem, Filium Christum, Spiritum Sanctum, remissionem peccatorum, et vitam æternam per sanctam ecclesiam?” Cyprian. Epist. 76, § 6, p. 248.

Εἰς Θεός, Πατὴρ Λόγου ζώντος, σοφίας ὑφεζωσης, καὶ δυνάμεως, καὶ χαρακτῆρος ἰδίου, τέλειος τελείου γεννήτωρ, Πατὴρ Υἱοῦ μονογενοῦς, εἰς Κύριος, μόνος ἐκ μόνου, Θεὸς ἐκ Θεοῦ, χαρακτὴρ καὶ εἰκὼν τῆς Θεότητος, λόγος ἐνεργὸς, σοφία τῆς τῶν ὄλων συστάσεως περιεκτικῇ καὶ δύνამις, καὶ τῆς ὅλης κτίσεως ποιητικῇ, υἱὸς ἀληθινὸς ἀληθινοῦ Πατρὸς, ὁράτος ὁράτου, καὶ ἀφθαρτος ἀφθάρτου, καὶ ἀθάνατος ἀθανάτου, καὶ ἰδίος ἰδίου· καὶ ἐν Πνεύμα Ἁγίῳ, ἐκ Θεοῦ τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἔχων, καὶ δι' υἱοῦ πεφηνός, δηλαδὴ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· εἰκὼν τοῦ υἱοῦ, τελείου τελεία ζωὴ, ζώντων αἰτία, πηγὴ ἀγία, ἁγιότης, ἁγιασμοῦ χορηγός, ἐν ᾧ φανεροῦται Θεὸς ὁ Πατὴρ ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσι, καὶ Θεὸς ὁ Υἱὸς ὁ διὰ πάντων τριὰς τελεία, δόξα καὶ ἰδιοκτητὴ καὶ βασιλεία μὴ μεριζομένη, μηδὲ ἀπαλλοτρισμένη. Gregor. Neocæsar.

§ 7. These are all the creeds that I have met with, in which the words are various, but generally recurring to the same sense; it would be too tedious to translate them all; wherefore I shall sum them up in the creed, commonly called the apostles', and thereby show their congruity and agreement, as also, what is in the apostles' creed more than in these. Now the articles of the apostles' creed that are to be found in the forementioned creeds are as follows:—

“I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son, our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried.—The third day he rose again from the dead, ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty, from whence he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy catholic church,—the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting.”

Here are now two clauses of our present creed wanting, viz., “He descended into hell,” and “The communion of saints.”

§ 8. If we would know how they were added, we must first consider how the whole creed was framed, which I conceive was done these two ways:

First. Some of the articles were derived down from the very days of the apostles.

Secondly. Others were afterward added in opposition to heresies, as they sprung up in the church.

First. Some of the articles were derived down from the very days of the apostles; such were these: “I believe in God the Father, (or, as the Greek creeds read it, “in one God, the Father,” in opposition to the polytheism of the heathens,) “and in Jesus Christ his only begotten Son our Lord: I believe in the Holy Ghost, the resurrection



of the body, and the life everlasting." For in the days of the apostles, as well as afterward, it was the practice at baptism to demand the baptized person's assent to the fundamental articles of the Christian faith, as Philip did the eunuch, Acts viii, 37; amongst which fundamentals we may be certain they reckoned the doctrine of the Trinity, because they were baptized in the name, and dedicated to the service of the Trinity; and that of the unity of the Godhead, because it was the great drift and design of their preaching to overturn the pagans' multiplicity of deities; and that of the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting, because that was the characteristic or peculiar doctrine of the Christian religion, by which it was eminently distinguished from other sects and opinions, and was the only comfort and support of the Christians under their sufferings and martyrdoms, according to that of St. Paul, 1 Corinthians xv, 29, "If the dead rise not at all, why are they then baptized for the dead?"

As for the other articles of the creed, viz., such as are predicated of Christ, as "his being conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary," &c., and those other two, "the holy catholic church," and, "the forgiveness of sins," I conceive them to be introduced the second way, viz., in opposition to heresies as they sprung up in the church, as "was conceived by the Holy Ghost," in opposition to the Carpocratians, Ebionites, and Cerinthians, who taught that Christ was born in the ordinary and common way, as other men and women are: "was born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate," &c., in contradiction to the Docetæ, Simonians, and others, who affirmed Christ to be a man, not really, but only fantastically, or in appearance; of which heretics Ignatius<sup>a</sup> speaks, and against them his forementioned

<sup>a</sup> Ἄπιστοί τινες λέγουσιν τὸ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν πεπονθέναι. Epist. ad Symm. p. 2.

creed seems particularly to be levelled. "The remission of sins," against the Basilidians, who held that not all sins, but only involuntary ones would be remitted; or rather against the Novatians, who denied remission to the lapsed: "the holy catholic church," to exclude thereby all heretics and schismatics from being within the pale thereof.

By these two ways then was the creed composed, and by the latter hereof were those two articles introduced, of Christ's descent into hell, and of the communion of saints. The communion of saints was brought in last of all. The descent into hell toward the latter end of the fourth century, into the manner and occasion whereof, as also the intent and meaning of this article, I had designed once to inquire, having made some collections\* concerning it; but finding I should then be forced to pass the limits of my prescribed time, I have thought it expedient to omit it, and to return to those points from whence I have so long digressed.

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#### CHAPTER IV.

§ 1. Of godfathers. § 2. Exorcism preceded baptism: the form and reason thereof. § 3. Next came baptism itself: the sacramental water consecrated by prayer. § 4. The person baptized in the name of the Trinity. § 5. Immersion or dipping generally used. § 6. Sometimes perfusion, or sprinkling. The validity thereof considered. § 7. After baptism followed prayers.

§ 1. HAVING in the former chapter made a little digression, I now return to the matter that first occasioned it,

\* These collections were afterward published in 8vo. under the title of "History of the Apostles' Creed, with critical Observations on its several Articles," &c.

which was the questions proposed to the persons to be baptized, unto which adult persons answered for themselves, and susceptrors or godfathers for children. Of these susceptrors, or sponsors, Tertullian speaks where he thus adviseth the delay of children's baptism: "What necessity is there that sponsors should expose themselves to danger, who, through death, may fail of the performance of their promises, or may be deceived by the wicked disposition of those they promise for."<sup>a</sup> Whether the use of sponsors was from the apostles' days, I cannot determine, unless the negative may be conjectured from Justin Martyr, Tertullian's senior by fifty years, who, when he enumerates the method and form of baptism, says not one word of sponsors or godfathers, as may be seen in his Second Apology, pages 93, 94.

§ 2. When these questions and answers were ended, then followed exorcization, the manner and end whereof was this: the minister put his hands on the person's head that was to be baptized, and breathed in his face, implying thereby the exorcization, or expelling of the devil or evil spirit from him, and a preparing of him for baptism and confirmation, when and where the Good and Holy Spirit was conferred and given.

This practice I find mentioned by Clemens Alexandrinus, who speaks of the *τὸ ἐξορκίζομενον*,<sup>b</sup> or exorcism before baptism, but more fully by some of those bishops that were present at that famous council of Carthage, held anno 258, in whose determinations exorcization is required as previous and antecedent to baptism. Thus in that of Crescens, bishop of Cirta, "I judge," saith he, "that all heretics and schismatics, who would come to the catholic

<sup>a</sup> Quid enim necesse est sponsores etiam periculo ingeri, qui et ipsi per mortalitatem destituere promissiones suas possunt, et proventu malæ indolis falli? De Baptism. p. 603.

<sup>b</sup> Theodos. Epitom. p. 573.

church are not to be admitted till they have been first exorcized and baptized.”<sup>a</sup> So also said Lucius, bishop of Thebeste; “It is my opinion that all heretics are to be exorcized and baptized.”<sup>b</sup> And thus more clearly Vincentius, bishop of Thibariss; “We know heretics to be worse than heathens. If therefore they would turn and come to the Lord, we have a rule of truth, which the Lord commanded the apostles saying, Go, in my name, lay on hands, and cast out devils, (Mark xvi, 17,) and in another place, Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, (Matthew xxviii, 19.) Therefore first let them come by imposition of hands in exorcism, and then by the regeneration of baptism, that so they may be made partakers of Christ’s promises; but otherwise I think they cannot.”<sup>c</sup>

From this last determination we may observe the reason of these exorcisms, which arose from a misunderstanding of Christ’s valedictory speech to his disciples in Mark xvi, 17, &c. In the sixteenth verse of that chapter he commanded them to go forth, preaching the gospel, and to baptize, which was to be an unalterable, perpetual ministration to the end of the world. Then he proceeds to tell them, verses 17, 18, that for the speedier propaga-

<sup>a</sup> Censeo omnes hæreticos et schismaticos, qui ad catholicam ecclesiam voluerint venire, non ante ingredi, nisi exorcizati et baptizati prius fuerint. Apud Cyprian. p. 445.

<sup>b</sup> Hæreticos—censeo exorcizandos et baptizandos esse. Ibidem. p. 447.

<sup>c</sup> Hæreticos acimus peiores esse quam ethnicos: si ergo conversi ad Dominum venire voluerint, habemus utique regulam veritatis, quam Dominus præcepto divino mandavit apostolis, dicens: ite in nomine meo, manum imponite, dæmonia expellite; et alio loco, ite, docete gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti; ergo primo per manus impositionem in exorcismo; secundo per baptismi regenerationem, tunc possunt ad Christi pollicitationem venire: alias autem fieri censeo non debere. Ibid. p. 447.

tion of the gospel, and that the heathens might the more readily embrace it, he would confer on them, and the first preachers thereof, the gift of working miracles, that in his name they should cast out devils, and speak with new tongues, as they most eminently did at the day of pentecost; that they should take up serpents, as Paul did at Malta, without receiving any injury; and if they drunk any deadly thing it should not hurt them; they should lay hands on the sick, and they should recover: all which they did, as ecclesiastical histories abundantly testify; and St. Mark closes this chapter, and his gospel, with saying, that when the apostles went forth and preached, "the Lord wrought with them, and confirmed the word with signs following." So that these were extraordinary actions peculiarly promised to the apostles and first preachers of the faith of Christ.

But now it is evident from the forementioned determination of Vincentius, bishop of Thibar, that in his age they apprehended them to be, like baptism, ordinary and standing administrations in the church, and so mistaking in the sense of the forecited text, introduced for an ordinary and constant practice, that which was promised by Christ for an extraordinary and miraculous gift. Christ promised his apostles the miraculous power of casting devils out of bodies possessed by them: but these fathers understood this promise of the common spiritual effects of the gospel, which, where it is believably received, delivers that person from the delusion and dominion of the devil, under which we all naturally are, being by nature children of wrath; and for the declaration of this invisible freedom and deliverance, which they all thought to be in or about baptism, they made use of this external sign of exorcism just before baptism, to declare thereby, that now the unclean devil, with all his power and tyranny, was cast out of that person, who was now going, in and by

**baptism, to be consecrated to the service of a better Master, viz., of the blessed Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, God blessed for evermore.**

§ 3. When exorcization was finished, then came baptism itself; and the person being ready to be baptized, the minister, by prayer, consecrated the water for that use, because it was not any water, but only "that water," as Sedatus, bishop of Turbo, writes, "which is sanctified in the church by the prayers of the minister, that washeth away sin."<sup>a</sup> It is true, indeed, as Tertullian writes, "that any waters may be applied to that use, but then God must be first invocated, and then the Holy Ghost presently comes down from heaven, moves upon them, and sanctifies them."<sup>b</sup> "Wherefore," saith Cyprian, "the water must be cleansed and sanctified by the priest, that by its washing it may wash away the sins of the man that is baptized."<sup>c</sup>

§ 4. The water being consecrated, the person was then baptized in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. So writes Justin Martyr, "They are baptized in the name of God the Father, Lord of all, and of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Ghost."<sup>d</sup> For, as Clemens Alexandrinus says, "The baptized person, by this dedication to the blessed Trinity, is delivered from the corrupt trinity, viz., the devil, the world, and the flesh, and

<sup>a</sup> Aqua sacerdotis prece in ecclesia sanctificata abluit delicta. Act. Concil. Carthag. apud Cyprian. p. 446.

<sup>b</sup> Omnes aquæ de pristina originis prærogativa sacramentum sanctificationis consequuntur invocato Deo: supervenit enim statim Spiritus de cælis et aquis superest sanctificans eas, &c. De Baptism. p. 598.

<sup>c</sup> Oportet ergo mundari et sanctificari aquam prius à sacerdote, ut possit baptismo suo peccata hominis qui baptizatur abluere. Epist. 70, § 2, p. 211.

<sup>d</sup> Ἐπ' ὀνόματος γὰρ τοῦ Πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων, καὶ δεσπότου Θεοῦ, καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου, τὸ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τότε λουτρὸν ποιοῦνται. Apolog. 2, p. 94.

is now sealed by the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.<sup>a</sup> This baptizing in the name of the Trinity, Origen terms, "the invocation of the adorable Trinity."<sup>b</sup>

§ 5. As for the quantity of water employed in baptism, that is, whether they sprinkled or dipped, to me it seems evident that their usual custom was to immerse or dip the whole body. When St. Barnabas describes a baptized person by his going down into the water, "We go down," saith he, "into the water full of sin and filth, but we ascend with fruit and benefit in our hearts."<sup>c</sup> And so Tertullian represents baptized persons as "entered into the water."<sup>d</sup> And as "let down into the water."<sup>e</sup> And Justin Martyr describes the same "by being washed in water;"<sup>f</sup> and calls the place where they are baptized λουτρὸν, "a washing place,"<sup>g</sup> or "a bath;" whence Firmilian, inveighing against the baptism of heretics, condemns it as carnal, and as being, upon that account, no whit "different from the baptism or washing of the Jews; which they used as a common and ordinary bath to wash away the filth of their bodies."<sup>h</sup>

§ 6. But though immersion was their usual custom, yet perfusion or sprinkling was not accounted unlawful; but,

<sup>a</sup> Διὰ τριῶν ὀνομάτων πάσης τῆς ἐν φθορᾷ Τριαδος ἀπηλλάγη—διὰ Πατρὸς, καὶ Υἱοῦ, καὶ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος σφραγισθεῖς. Theod. Epitom. p. 573.

<sup>b</sup> Τῆς προσκυνητῆς Τριαδος ἐπὶ κλήσεις. Comment. in Johan. vol. 2, tom. 8, p. 124.

<sup>c</sup> Ἡμεῖς μὲν καταβαίνομεν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ γέμοντες ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ ῥύπον, καὶ ἀναβαίνομεν καρποφοροῦντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ. Epist. Cathol. § 9, p. 235.

<sup>d</sup> Aquam ingressi. De Spectaculis, p. 583. —

<sup>e</sup> In aqua demissus. De Baptismo, p. 597.

<sup>f</sup> Ἐν τῷ ὕδατι λουτρὸν ποιοῦνται. Apolog. 2, p. 94.

<sup>g</sup> Ibidem ut supra.

<sup>h</sup> Nihil differt à Judæorum baptismo, quo sic illi utuntur, ut eo tantquam communi et vulgari lavacro tantum sordes laventur. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75, § 11, p. 139.

in cases of necessity, that was used, as in clinic baptism; which was, when sick persons, whose death they apprehended, were baptized in their beds; as Novatian, "being sick and near death, as was supposed, was baptized in his bed by perfusion, or pouring on of water."<sup>a</sup>

It is true, indeed, this baptism was not generally esteemed as perfect as the more solemn baptism; for which reason it was a custom in some churches not to advance any to clerical orders who had been so baptized; an instance whereof we have in the church of Rome, where the ordination of Novatian to be a presbyter "was opposed by all the clergy, and by many of the laity, as unlawful, because of his clinic perfusion."<sup>b</sup> But yet, that they held it not altogether, or absolutely unlawful to be done, appears from that on the entreaties of the bishop they consented that he should be ordained, as he accordingly was. And Cyprian, in a set discourse on this subject, declares that he thought this baptism to be as perfect and valid as that done more solemnly by immersion; for, when one Magnus wrote to him desiring his opinion whether those were truly baptized who, through their infirmities, were not dipped, but only perfused or aspersed, he answered:—

Nos, quantum concipit mediocritas nostra, æstimamus in nullo mutilari et debilitari posse divina beneficia, nec minus aliquid illic posse contingere, ubi plena et tota fide et dantis et sumentis accipitur, quod de divinis muneribus hauritur. Neque enim sic in sacramento salutari delicto-

<sup>a</sup> Νόσῳ περιπεσὼν χαλεπῇ, καὶ ἀποθανεῖσθαι δσον οὐδέπω νομιζόμενος, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κλίνῃ ἣ ἐκεῖτο περιχυνθεὶς ἔλαβεν. Epist. Cornel. ad Fabium Antioch. apud Euseb. lib. 6, cap. 43, p. 245.

<sup>b</sup> Διακυλούμενος ἀπὸ πάντος τοῦ κλήρου, ἀλλὰ καὶ λαϊκῶν πολλῶν, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἔξδν ἦν τὸν ἐπὶ κλίνης διὰ νόσον περιχυνθέντα εἰς κλῆρον τινα γενέσθαι. Ex Epist. Cornel. ad Fabium Antioch. apud Euseb. lib. 6, cap. 43, p. 245.



rum contagia, ut in lavacro carnali et sæculari sordes cutis et corporis abluuntur, ut aphronitris et cæteris quoque adjumentis, et solio et piscina opus sit, quibus ablui et mundari corpusculum possit. Aliter pectus credentis abluatur, aliter mens hominis per fidei merita mundatur. In sacramentis salutaribus necessitate cogente, et Deo indulgentiam suam largiente, totum credentibus conferunt divina compendia. Nec quemquam movere debet, quod aspergi vel perfundi videantur ægri, cum gratiam dominicam consequuntur, quando Scriptura Sancta per Ezechielem prophetam loquatur et dicat. Et aspergam super vos aquam mundam, et mundabimini ab omnibus immunditiis vestris, et ab omnibus simulachris vestris emundabo vos, et dabo vobis cor novum, et spiritum novum dabo in vobis. Item in Numeris. Et homo qui fuerit immundus usque ad vespem, hic purificabitur die tertio, et die septimo, et mundus erit; si autem non fuerit purificatus die tertio, et die septimo, non erit mundus, et exterminabitur anima illa de Israel, quoniam aqua aspersionis non est super eum sparsa. Et iterum. Et locutus est Dominus ad Moysen, dicens, Accipe Levitas de medio filiorum Israel, et purificabis eos, et ita facies eis purificationem eorum, circumsparges eos aqua purificationis; et iterum, aqua aspersionis purificatio est. Unde apparet aspersionem quoque aquæ instar salutaris lavacri obtinere; et quando hæc in ecclesia fiunt, ubi sit et dantis et accipientis fides integra, stare omnia et consummari ac perfici posse majestate domini et fidei veritate. Epist. 76. § 9, pp. 249, 250.

“That as he could conceive, he apprehended that the divine benefits could in no wise be mutilated, or weakened, nor that less thereof could be bestowed, where the divine gifts are received with a sound and full faith, both of giver and receiver: for in baptism the spots of sin are otherwise washed away than the filth of the body in a secular and

carnal bath is, in which there is need of a seat to sit upon, of a vat to wash in, of soap and other such like implements, that so the body may be washed and cleansed. But in another manner is the heart of a believer washed; otherwise is the mind of a man purified by the merits of Christ. In the sacraments of salvation, through the indulgence of God in cases of necessity, the divine abridgments convey the whole to those that believe. Nor let any one think it strange that the sick, when they are baptized, are only perfused or sprinkled; since the Scripture says, by the prophet Ezekiel, chap. xxxvi, ver. 25, 26, 'I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean; from all your filthinesses and from all your idols will I cleanse you; a new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you.' Also it is said in Numbers, chap. xix, ver. 19, 20, 'And the man which shall be unclean to the evening, he shall be purified the third day, and the seventh day, and he shall be clean; but if he shall not be purified the third day, and the seventh day, he shall not be clean; and that soul shall be cut off from Israel, because the water of aspersion hath not been sprinkled on him.' And again the Lord spake unto Moses, Numbers viii, 6, 7, 'Take the Levites from among the children of Israel, and cleanse them; and thus shalt thou do unto them to cleanse them, sprinkle water of purifying upon them.' And again, 'the water of aspersion is purification:' from whence it appears, that sprinkling is sufficient instead of immersion; and whensoever it is done, if there be a sound faith of giver and receiver, it is perfect and complete."

And a little after, in the same epistle, the same father argues the validity of baptizing by sprinkling; because such as had been so baptized were never baptized again.

*Aut si aliquis existimat eos nihil consecutos, eo quod*

aqua salutari tantum perfusi sunt, sed inanes et vacuos esse; non decipiantur, et si incommodum languoris evaserint et convaluerint, baptizentur. Si autem baptizari non possunt, qui jam baptismo ecclesiastico sanctificati sunt, cur in fide sua et Domini indulgentia scandalizantur? Epist. 76, § 10, p. 250.

‘ If,” saith he, “any shall think that such have not obtained the grace of God, but are void and empty thereof, because they have been only perfused with the saving laver, let not such then that have been so baptized deceive themselves; but if they recover their health, let them be baptized; but if they cannot be baptized, as having been already sanctified with the ecclesiastical baptism, why then are they scandalized in their faith and in the mercy of God?”

So that sprinkling or perfusion was esteemed valid, and seems to be always used in cases of necessity, as immersion was in their ordinary public baptism: when, as Tertullian writes, “they dipped the baptized person three times under water,”<sup>a</sup> that is, dipping him once at the naming of each person of the Holy Trinity. “We are,” says the foresaid father, “dipped at the naming of each person.”<sup>b</sup>

§ 7. When baptism was over, the person that had been then baptized, as Justin Martyr relates it, “was received into the number of the faithful, who then sent up their public prayers to God for all men, for themselves, and for them that had been baptized.”<sup>c</sup> After which the baptized

<sup>a</sup> Ter mergitamur. De Coron. Milit. p. 336.

<sup>b</sup> Nec semel, sed ter, ad singula nomina in Personas singulas tingimur. Advers. Prax. p. 229.

<sup>c</sup> Ἡμεῖς δὲ μετὰ τὸ οὕτως λοῦσαι τὸν πεπεισμένον καὶ συγκαταθεθεῖμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς λεγομένους ἀδελφοὺς ἄγομεν ἐνθα συνηγμένοι εἰς κοινὰς εὐχὰς ποιησόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑαυτῶν καὶ τοῦ φωτισθέντος καὶ ἄλλων πανταχοῦ πάντων ἐκτόνως. Apolog. 2. p. 97.

person, as the said father goes on to write, was admitted to receive the other sacrament of the Lord's supper with the rest of the faithful. So that in Justin Martyr's age, at least in his country, at that season, it seems very probable that there followed only prayers after baptism. But not long after his time, we meet with many other ceremonies then used, which, because they have some relation to our present controversies, I shall mention in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER V.

§ 1. After baptism followed chrismation, or unction. § 2. Then signation, or signing with the sign of the cross. § 3. Then imposition of hands, or confirmation. § 4. Their reasons for unction. § 5. For signation. § 6. For imposition of hands. § 7. Confirmation immediately followed baptism. § 8. Presbyters confirmed as well as bishops. § 9. Confirmation reiterated.

§ 1. As for those rites that succeeded baptism, and which we find first mentioned in Tertullian, they were in number three, viz., unction, signation, and imposition of hands; or if the reader pleases, he may call them all by the name of confirmation.

Touching unction, or chrismation, Tertullian thus writes: "As soon as we are baptized we are anointed with the blessed unction—an external carnal unction is poured upon us, but it spiritually advantages."<sup>a</sup> And to the same purpose says his follower Cyprian, "He that is baptized must of necessity be anointed, that having re-

<sup>a</sup> *Egressi de lavacro perungimur benedicta unctione—in nobis carnaliter currit unctio, sed spiritualiter proficit. De Baptism. pp. 599, 600.*

ceived the chrisem or unction, he may be the anointed of God, and have in him the grace of Christ.”<sup>a</sup>

§ 2. Under this chrismation was comprehended signation, or the signing of the baptized person with the sign of the cross, which the minister performed with this ointment or chrisem. So saith Tertullian: “The flesh is anointed, that the soul may be consecrated.” And then it follows, “The flesh is signed, that the soul may be fortified.”<sup>b</sup> This sign was made in the forehead, as Cyprian observes, that king Uzias, for invading the priest’s office, “was smit with a leprosy on his forehead, and marked, by an offended God, on that place where those are marked whom God receives.”<sup>c</sup> Hence he calls a Christian’s forehead a “signed forehead;”<sup>d</sup> and thus elegantly exhorts the people of Thibaris, in allusion hereunto, to take unto themselves the whole armour of God, mentioned Ephes. vi, 12; “To take unto themselves for a covering for their head, the helmet of salvation, that their ears might be fortified against their persecutors’ edicts, that their eyes might be strengthened against the beholding of detestable images, that their forehead might be fortified, that so the sign of God might be kept inviolable.”<sup>e</sup> So Pontius speaks

<sup>a</sup> Ungi quoque necesse est eum qui baptizatus sit, ut accepto chrismate, id est, unctione, esse unctus Dei, et habere in se gratiam Christi possit. Epist. 70, § 3, p. 211.

<sup>b</sup> Caro ungitur, ut anima consecratur: caro signatur, ut et anima muniatur. De Resurrect. Carnis.

<sup>c</sup> Lepre varietate in fronte maculatus est, ea parte corporis notatus offenso Domino, ubi signantur qui Dominum promerentur. De Unit. Eccles. § 16, p. 301.

<sup>d</sup> Frons cum signo. De Lapsis. § 1, p. 277.

<sup>e</sup> Accipiamus quoque ad tegumentum capitis galeam salutarem, ut muniatur aures, ne audiant edicta feralia; muniatur oculi ne videant detestanda simulachra: muniatur frons ut signum Dei incolume servetur. Epist. 56, § 7, p. 156.

of certain confessors who, by the cruelty of their tormentors, "had their foreheads marked a second time."<sup>a</sup>

It is observed by Tertullian, that the devil strives to be God's ape, imitating the acts of his worship and service, and prescribing the same to his deluded adorers, as particularly in the idolatrous services of Mithras, "whose priests baptized some as his believing and faithful servants, and signed them in their foreheads as his soldiers."<sup>b</sup>

§ 3. To signation succeeded imposition of hands, or that which most properly we term confirmation, which was, the minister laid his hands on the head of the party baptized, anointed, and signed, and prayed that the Holy Ghost would be pleased to descend and rest upon him. This immediately followed signation, as that did unction. So saith Tertullian: "The flesh is anointed that the soul may be consecrated; the flesh is signed, that the soul may be fortified. The flesh is overshadowed with the imposition of hands, that the soul may be enlightened by the Spirit."<sup>c</sup> And, "When the unction is finished, then hands are imposed, with prayers invoking and inviting the Holy Spirit."<sup>d</sup>

§ 4. Having thus briefly shown what their additional acts to baptism were, it will, in the next place, be necessary to inquire into the grounds or reasons of their usage of them: and, first, for unction: this was taken from the

<sup>a</sup> Confessores frontium notatarum secunda inscriptione signatos. In Vita Cypriani.

<sup>b</sup> Tingit et ipse quosdam, utique credentes et fideles suos: expiationem delictorum de lavacro repromittit: et sic initiat Mithræ, signat illic in frontibus milites suos. De Præscript. advers. Hæret. p. 87.

<sup>c</sup> Caro ungitur, ut anima consecratur; caro signatur, ut et anima muniat; caro manus impositione adumbratur, ut et anima spiritu illuminetur. De Resurrect. Carnis. p. 31.

<sup>d</sup> Dehinc manus imponitur, per benedictionem advocans et invitans Spiritum Sanctum. De Baptism. p. 600.

Jewish rites, where it was employed in the instalment of the high priest, to denote his sacerdotal consecration to the service of God, as Tertullian writes : " This unction is according to the Jewish dispensation, wherein the high priest was anointed with oil out of a horn, as Aaron was by Moses."<sup>a</sup> So now, in the times of the gospel, all Christians being, as Tertullian says, " priests to God and the Father,"<sup>b</sup> they were, in resemblance thereunto, consecrated, by the anointing of oil, to their priesthood ; or, as the foresaid father expresses it, " the flesh is anointed, that the soul may be consecrated."<sup>c</sup>

From the spiritual unction also of God the Son, by God the Father, for which reason he was called Christ, or Anointed, they pleaded for their carnal and external unction, as Tertullian saith : " Jesus is called Christ from being anointed, which unction was spiritual, because whilst only a spirit, he was anointed by the Father, as in the Acts, ' They are gathered together in this city against thy holy Son, whom thou hast anointed ; ' but our unction is carnal, though it spiritually profits."<sup>d</sup>

Cyprian adds this farther reason for this custom of anointing, viz., " He that is baptized must of necessity receive the chrism or unction, that so he may be the anointed of God, and have in him the grace of Christ."<sup>e</sup>

§ 5. As for signation, or the signing with the sign of the

<sup>a</sup> De pristinâ disciplinâ, quâ ungi oleo de cornu in sacerdotio solebant, ex quo Aaron à Moyse unctus est. De Baptism. p. 600.

<sup>b</sup> Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus ? Scriptum est, regnum quoque nos et sacerdotes Deo et Patri suo fecit. Exhort. ad Castitat. p. 457.

<sup>c</sup> Caro ungitur, ut anima consecratur. De Resurrect. Carnis. p. 31.

<sup>d</sup> Christus dicitur à chrismate, quod est unctio, quæ Domino nomen accommodavit, facta spiritalis, quia Spiritus unctus est à Deo Patri, sicut in Actis : collecti sunt enimvero in ista civitate adversus sanctum filium tuum quem unxisti : sic et in nobis carnaliter currit unctio, sed spiritaliter proficit. De Baptism. p. 600.

<sup>e</sup> Ungi quoque necesse est eum, qui baptizatus sit, ut accepto chris-

cross, by this was denoted, that they were to be strong and valiant in the cause of Christ, having their hearts fortified and strengthened, as Tertullian observes, "the flesh is signed, that the soul may be fortified."<sup>a</sup> Hence this sign was made on an open, visible place, on their foreheads, which is the seat of courage and confidence, implying thereby, that they ought courageously and constantly to fight like good soldiers under the cross of Christ; whence Tertullian says, that as the Christians, so the priests of Mithras "signed the foreheads of their soldiers."<sup>b</sup>

§ 6. As for the very act of confirmation, or imposition of hands, that was practised from an opinion of the imperfections of baptism, that that did not convey the graces of the Holy Spirit, but only prepared persons for the reception of them, when they should be actually bestowed in the confirmation, for, as Tertullian says, "We do not receive the Holy Ghost in baptism, but being purified therein by the angel," (alluding to the angel that moved upon the pool at Bethesda,) "we are prepared for the Holy Ghost."<sup>c</sup> And, "When our bodies are cleansed and blessed, then that most Holy Spirit willingly descends from the Father."<sup>d</sup> And, "At the imposition of hands, the soul is illuminated by the Spirit."<sup>e</sup>

Cyprian, in his seventy-fourth épistle, § 6, 7, 8, discourses somewhat largely of this custom of confirmation ;

mate, id est, unctione, esse unctus Dei, et habere in se gratiam Christi possit. Epist. 70, § 3, p. 211.

<sup>a</sup> Caro signatur, ut anima muniatur. De Resurrect. Carnis. p. 31.

<sup>b</sup> Signat illic in frontibus milites suos. De Præscript. advers. Hæret. p. 87.

<sup>c</sup> Non quod in aquis Spiritum Sanctum consequamur, sed in aqua emundati ab angelo Spiritu Sancto præparamur. De Baptism. p. 599.

<sup>d</sup> Tunc ille Sanctissimus Spiritus super emundata et benedicta corpora libens à Patre descendit. Ibid. p. 600.

<sup>e</sup> Caro manus impositione adumbratur, ut et anima Spiritu illuminetur. De Resurrect. Carnis. p. 31.



from whence I have observed this following account of it:—"Every one in a state of heathenism and idolatry was considered as dead: wherefore, when any one came from that state to the Christian faith, he was said to live; which life may be compared to a natural life. As to complete a natural life, there must be a body and a soul, so must the same be imagined in a spiritual life: as in the first creation God first formed the body of man, and then breathed into him the breath of life; first made a fit subject to receive the soul, before the soul itself was framed: so, in the second creation, God first prepares the man before he gives his Spirit; he first makes the man a fit temple for the Holy Ghost, before he gives the Holy Ghost. Now the way by which a man is prepared and fitted is by baptism, by which he is cleansed and purged from sin, and fitted for the reception of the Spirit of God, in which respect he is to be regarded as a body: the way by which the Holy Ghost is infused, which, as a living soul, must actuate and direct that prepared body, is by prayer and imposition of hands, or by confirmation." <sup>a</sup> For, as Cyprian writes in the same place, "Baptism alone cannot purge away sins, or sanctify a man, unless he has also the Holy Ghost." <sup>b</sup> That is, has received confirmation, as it is frequently styled in Cyprian's epistles, in the decrees of the council of Carthage, and in the letter of Cornelius to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, extant in Eusebius, lib. 6, cap. 43, p. 244. This being the regeneration of the Spirit, and baptism the regeneration of water, both which our

<sup>a</sup> Non per manus impositionem quis nascitur, quando accipit Spiritum Sanctum, sed in baptismo, ut spiritum jam natus accipiat, sicut in primo homine Adam factum est. Ante enim Deus eum plasmavit, et tunc insufflavit in faciem ejus flatum vitæ; nec enim potest accipi spiritus, nisi prius fuerit qui accipiat. § 8, p. 230.

<sup>b</sup> Peccata enim purgare, et hominem sanctificare aqua sola non potest, nisi habeat et Spiritum Sanctum. § 7, p. 230.

Saviour affirmed to be necessary, when he said to Nicodemus, John iii, 5, "Except a man be born of water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." As Nemesianus, bishop of Thubunis, saith, one is not sufficient without the other, "The Spirit cannot operate without water, nor the water without the Spirit."<sup>a</sup> Therefore it was necessary to be "regenerated by both sacraments," viz., by baptism and by confirmation. Wherefore, as Cyprian exhorts, we must pray, "That those who are yet earthly, may become heavenly, and be born of the water and of the Spirit."<sup>b</sup> That is, be baptized and confirmed, which were the external signs of cleansing from sin, and bestowing grace, both being necessary to make a complete Christian; for, as the same father writes, "Then are men truly sanctified, and fully become the sons of God, when they are regenerated with both sacraments, baptism and confirmation; according as it is written, 'Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.'"<sup>c</sup> So that though a person was baptized, yet they accounted his Christianity incomplete and imperfect till he was also confirmed; for which reason Cornelius objects against Novatian, that he "could scarcely acknowledge him a complete Christian, because being baptized in his bed, he had not received confirmation, or the additional rituals to baptism, nor did he ever after receive them."<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Neque enim Spiritus sine aqua operari potest, neque aqua sine Spiritu—utroque sacramento debere eos renasci in ecclesia catholica. Act. Concil. Carthag. apud Cyprian. p. 444.

<sup>b</sup> Ut qui adhuc sunt primæ nativitate terreni, incipiant esse coelestes, ex aqua et Spiritu nati. De Orat. Dominic. § 12, p. 213.

<sup>c</sup> Tunc enim demum plenè sanctificari, et esse filii Dei possunt, ex sacramento utroque nascantur; cum scriptum sit, nisi quis natus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu, non potest introire in regnum Dei. Epist. 62, § 1, p. 216.

<sup>d</sup> Νόσω περιπεσὼν χαλεπῇ—ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κλίνῃ ἣ ἔκειτο περιχυθεὶς

Thus you see the reasons they produced for this usage, to fortify which they added some examples of the Holy Writ, as Tertullian cites to this purpose the example of Jacob, in Genesis, "who put his hands on the heads of Ephraim and Manasses, and blessed them."<sup>a</sup> And Cyprian urges that instance of the apostles, Acts viii, 15-17, where, after several of the Samaritans had been baptized by Philip, Peter and James conferred the Holy Ghost on them by imposition of hands, "They had no need again to be baptized," saith he, "having been baptized by Philip, but only what was wanting, or lacking, was performed by Peter and John, which was, that by prayer and imposition of hands, the Holy Ghost should be conferred on them, which custom," as he there adds, "is now observed by us, that those who are baptized in the church, are offered to the governors thereof, by whose prayers, and imposition of hands, they receive the Holy Ghost, and are completed with the Lord's seal."<sup>b</sup> To this practice also Firmilian refers that action of St. Paul in Acts xix, 5, "Where on those who had been only baptized by John's baptism, he conferred the Holy Ghost by imposition of

*ἐλαβεν, εἶγε χρὴ λέγειν τὸν τοιοῦτον εἰληφέναι, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐτυχε διαφυγῶν τὴν νόσον, ὣν χρὴ μεταλαμβάνειν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας κανόνα, τοῦ τε σφραγισθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου.* Epist. ad Fab. Antioch. Euseb. lib. 6, cap. 43, p. 244.

<sup>a</sup> Est hoc quoque de veteri instrumento quo nepotes suos ex Joseph Efreim et Manassem, Jacob capitibus impositis et intermutatis manibus benedixerit. De Baptism. p. 600. ¶

<sup>b</sup> Quia legitimum et ecclesiasticum baptismum consecuti fuerant, baptizari eos ultrà non oportebat: sed tantummodo quod deerat, id à Petro et Johanne factum est, ut oratione pro eis habitâ, et manu imposita, invocaretur et infunderetur super eos Spiritus Sanctus. Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, ut qui in ecclesia baptizantur, præpositis ecclesiæ offerantur: et per nostram orationem ac manûs impositionem Spiritum Sanctum consequantur, et signaculo dominico consummentur. Epist. 73, § 8, p. 220.

hands."<sup>a</sup> And Cyprian applies to confirmation the descent of the Holy Ghost, Acts x, 44, "in miraculous operations and gifts of tongues on Cornelius and his friends, though they were not then baptized."<sup>b</sup>

So much now for the reasons of confirmation; all that I shall do more is to add two or three observations concerning it.

§ 7. The first whereof is, that confirmation was an immediate consequence of baptism; it was not deferred till many years after, but was presently administered, as Tertullian writes: "As soon as we come out of the baptismal laver, we are anointed, and then we are confirmed."<sup>c</sup> Else, if they had not been so soon confirmed, they must, notwithstanding their baptism, according to their opinions, as it hath been before demonstrated, have continued graceless, without the adorning gifts of the Holy Spirit, a long time, even as long as their confirmation was delayed, which to imagine concerning them is unreasonable and uncharitable.

Indeed, in case of necessity, when they had neither time nor conveniency, it was waived, as immersion was with respect to baptism; but yet if the sick person happened to recover, he was then to be confirmed, as is evident from the case of Novatian, whom Cornelius accuses, because "that when he was restored to his health again, he was not confirmed according to the canon of the

<sup>a</sup> Eos qui ab Johanne baptizati fuerint, priusquam missus esset à Domino Spiritus Sanctus, baptizavit denuo spiritali baptismo, et sic eis manum imposuit, ut acciperent Spiritum Sanctum. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75, § 7, p. 237.

<sup>b</sup> Invenimus hoc esse ab apostolis custoditum, ut in domo Cornelii centurionis super ethnicos qui illic aderant, fidei calore ferventes, descendisset Spiritus Sanctus, &c. Epist. 75, § 1, p. 216.

<sup>c</sup> Egressi de lavacro perungimur benedictâ unctione—dehinc manus imponitur. De Baptism. pp. 599, 600.

church."<sup>a</sup> But otherwise confirmation immediately, or at the same time, followed baptism.

§ 8. From the former observation there follows this, that not only the bishop, but also his presbyters or curates did, by his permission, and, in his absence, confirm: for, if confirmation always succeeded baptism, then whenever baptism was, there was also confirmation. Now as for baptism, we may reasonably suppose, that in a church there were some fit to be baptized at least once a year; and sometimes it might happen that either the see was vacant, or the bishop, through persecution, might be absent from his flock so long a time; as Cyprian was double the space; and if so, must no persons have been baptized within that time by reason of the bishop's unavoidable absence? That seems a little hard, since, as was said before, they esteemed baptism and confirmation necessary to salvation, and to deprive those souls of salvation that died within that time, because they had not been confirmed by the bishop, which was impossible, would be too severe and uncharitable.

Besides, that presbyters did baptize, we have proved already; and since confirmation was done at the same time with baptism, it is very reasonable to conclude that he that did the one performed the other also.

But that presbyters did confirm will appear most evidently from this very consideration, viz., that the imposition of hands on persons just after baptism, which we call confirmation, and the imposition of hands at the restitution of offenders, which we call absolution, was one and the self-same thing, confirmation and absolution being only terms that we make use of to distinguish the different times of the performances of the same ceremony. The

<sup>a</sup> Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτυχε διαφυγῶν τὴν νόσον, ὡν χρὴ μεταλαμβάνειν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας κανόνα, τοῦ τε σφραγισθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου. Apud Euseb. lib. 6, cap. 43, p. 244.

thing or ceremony was not different: imposition of hands was used both at one and the other, denoting the same mystical signification, viz., the conferring of the Holy Ghost and his graces on that person on whom hands were imposed: only now to distinguish the time of this imposition of hands, whether after baptism, or at the reconciliation of offenders, these two terms of confirmation and absolution are used by us, the former to signify that used just after baptism, and the latter that that was employed at the restitution of penitents.

This now, viz., that confirmation and absolution were one and the self-same thing, I shall presently prove. And then, in the next place, I shall show, that with the bishop, and sometimes without the bishop, presbyters did absolve by imposition of hands. And if these two points can be clearly manifested, it will evidently follow that presbyters did confirm; for if there was no difference between confirmation and absolution, but only with respect to time; and if presbyters at one time, viz., at absolution, conferred the Holy Ghost by imposition of hands, it is very unreasonable to deprive them of the same power at the other time, which was at confirmation. If presbyters could at one season bestow the Holy Spirit, it is very probable that they could do the same at the other also.

Now as to the first point, viz., that there was no difference between confirmation and absolution, but that they were one and the same thing, this will appear most evidently from the consideration of that famous controversy touching the validity of heretics' baptism, between Stephen, bishop of Rome, and Cyprian, bishop of Carthage; or rather between the churches of Europe and Africa, the sum whereof was this: Stephen, bishop of Rome, asserted that those who were baptized by heretics, and came over to the catholic church, should be received only by imposition of hands. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, contended that,

besides imposition of hands, they should also be baptized, unless that they had been before baptized by the orthodox, in which case imposition of hands should be esteemed sufficient. Now this imposition of hands they sometimes term that which we call confirmation, and sometimes absolution, promiscuously using either of those expressions, and indifferently applying them according as they pleased, in one place giving it the title of confirmation, and in another that of absolution, which that they did, I shall endeavour to evince by showing,—

First, That they called this imposition of hands confirmation.

Secondly, That they called it absolution.

First. I shall prove that they called it confirmation; unto which end let us consider these following passages: “Those,” says Cyprian, “which are baptized without the church, when they come unto us, and unto the church, which is but one, they are to be baptized, because the imposition of hands by confirmation is not sufficient without baptism, for then they are fully sanctified, and become the sons of God, when they are born with both sacraments, according as it is written, ‘Unless a man be born again of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.’”<sup>a</sup> To the same effect says Nemesianus, bishop of Thubunis, “Those do greatly err who affirm that they ought only to be confirmed by imposition of hands, and so to be received, since it is manifest they must be regenerated with both sacraments in the catholic

<sup>a</sup> Eos qui sint foris extra ecclesiam tincti — quando ad nos, atque ad ecclesiam quæ una est, venerint, baptizari oportere, eo quod parum sit eis manum imponere ad accipiendum Spiritum Sanctum, nisi accipiant et ecclesiæ baptismum. Tunc enim demum plenè sanctificari et esse filii Dei possunt, si sacramento utroque nascentur, cum scriptum sit, nisi quis natus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu, non potest introire in regnum Dei. Epist. 72, § 1, p. 216.

church.”<sup>a</sup> And Secundinus, bishop of Carpis, determined, that “on heretics, who are the seed of antichrist, the Holy Ghost cannot be conferred by imposition of hands alone in confirmation.”<sup>b</sup>

Stephen pleaded on his side, “That the very name of Christ was so advantageous to faith and the sanctification of baptism, that in what place soever any one was baptized in that name, he immediately obtained the grace of Christ.” But unto this Firmilian briefly replies, “That if the baptism of heretics, because done in the name of Christ, was sufficient to purge away sins, why was not confirmation, that was performed in the name of the same Christ, sufficient to bestow the Holy Ghost too?”<sup>c</sup> And, therefore, it is thus eagerly argued by Cyprian, “Why do they,” saith he, (meaning Stephen and his party, who received heretics by imposition of hands only,) “patronize heretics and schismatics? Let them answer us; have they the Holy Ghost, or have they not? If they have, why then do they lay hands on those that are baptized by them, when they come over to us to bestow on them the Holy Ghost, when they had received him before; for if he

<sup>a</sup> *Malè sibi quidam interpretantur, ut dicant, quod per manûs impositionem Spiritum Sanctum accipiant, et sic recipiantur, cum manifestum sit utroque sacramento debere eos renasci in ecclesia catholica. Act. Concil. Carthag. apud Cyprian. p. 444.*

<sup>b</sup> *Super filios alienos, et soboles Antichristi Spiritum Sanctum per manus impositionem tantummodo non posse descendere. Act. Concil. Carthag. apud Cyprian. p. 446.*

<sup>c</sup> *Sed in multum, inquit, proficit nomen Christi ad fidem et baptismi sanctificationem, ut quicumque et ubicunque in nomine Christi baptizatus fuerit, consequatur statim gratiam Christi, quando huic loco breviter occurri possit, et dici, quoniam si in nomine Christi valuit foris baptismus ad hominem purgandum, in ejusdem Christi nomine valere illic potuit et manûs impositio ad accipiendum Spiritum Sanctum. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75, § 16, p. 240.*



was there, they could confer him? But if heretics and schismatics have not the Spirit of God, and, therefore, we lay hands on them in confirmation, that they may here receive what heretics neither have nor can give; it is manifest, that since they have not the Holy Ghost, they cannot give remission of sins;<sup>a</sup> that is, since they cannot confirm, therefore they cannot baptize. So that from these and some other passages,<sup>b</sup> which, to avoid tediousness, I omit, it is clear that both Stephen and Cyprian understood, by imposition of hands, that which we now call confirmation.

Secondly. I now come to show that they also termed it absolution, as will appear from these following instances:—"They," says Cyprian, meaning Stephen and his followers, "urge, that in what they do, they follow the old custom that was used by the ancients, when heresies and schisms first began, when those that went over to them first were in the church, and baptized therein; who, when they returned again to the church, and did penance, were not forced to be baptized. But this," says he, "makes nothing against us, for we now observe the very same. Those who were baptized here, and from us went over to the heretics, if afterward, being sensible of their error, they return to the church, we only absolve them by the

<sup>a</sup> Qui hæreticis sive schismaticis patrocinantur, respondeant nobis habeantne Spiritum Sanctum, an non habeant? Si habent, cur illic baptizatis, quando ad nos veniunt, manus imponitur ad accipiendum Spiritum Sanctum, cum jam utique illic acceptus sit, ubi si fuit, dari potuit? Si autem foris cuncti hæretici et schismatici non habent Spiritum Sanctum, et ideo apud nos manus imponitur, ut hic accipiat, quod illic nec est, nec dari potest: manifestum est nec remissionem peccatorum dari per eos posse, quos constet Spiritum Sanctum non habere. Epist. 76, § 8, p. 249.

<sup>b</sup> Cyprian. Epist. 73, § 8, p. 220, & § 19, p. 224. Epist. 74, § 6, 7, 8, p. 230. Firmilian apud Cyprian. Epist. 75, § 7, p. 237, & § 11, p. 249.

imposition of hands ; because once they were sheep, and as wandering and straying sheep the shepherd receives them into his flock ; but if those that come from heretics were not first baptized in the church, they are to be baptized, that they may become sheep ; for there is but one holy water in the church that makes sheep.”<sup>a</sup>

But that this imposition of hands was the same with absolution, will most evidently appear from the opinion or determination of Stephen, and from Cyprian’s answer thereunto.

Stephen’s opinion or determination was, “ If any shall from any heresy come unto us, let nothing be innovated or introduced besides the old tradition ; which is, that hands be imposed on him as a penitent.”<sup>b</sup> Now, unto that part of this decree which asserts the reception of heretics only by absolution, or the imposition of hands in penance to be a tradition descended down from their predecessors, Cyprian replies, “ That he would observe it as a divine and holy tradition, if it were either commanded in the gospel and the epistles of the apostles, or contained in the Acts, that those who came from heretics should not be baptized, but only hands imposed on them for penance, or

<sup>a</sup> Et dicunt se in hoc veterem consuetudinem sequi, quando apud veteres hæreseos, et schismatum prima adhuc fuerint initia, ut hi illic essent, qui de ecclesia recedebant, et hic baptizati prius fuerant : quos tamen ad ecclesiam revertentes, et poenitentiam agentes, necesse non erat baptizare, quod nos quoque hodie observamus, ut quos constet hæc baptizatos esse, et à nobis ad hæreticos transisse, si postmodum peccato suo cognito et errore digesto, ad veritatem et matricem redeant, satis sit in poenitentiam manum imponere : ut quia ovis jam fuerat, hanc ovem abalienatam et errandam in ovile suum pastor recipiat. Si autem qui ab hæreticis venit, baptizatus in ecclesia prius non fuit, sed alienus in totum et profanus venit : baptizandus est, ut ovis fiat, quia una est aqua in ecclesia sancta quæ oves faciat. Epist. 71, § 2, p. 214.

<sup>b</sup> Si quis ergo à quacunque hæresi venerit ad nos, nihil innovetur, nisi quod traditum est, ut manus illi imponatur in poenitentiam. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 74, § 1, p. 229.

as penitents;"<sup>a</sup> but that for his part, "he never found it either commanded or written, that on a heretic hands should be only imposed for penance, and so he should be admitted to communion."<sup>b</sup> Wherefore he on his side concludes and determines, "Let it, therefore, be observed and held by us, that all who from any heresy are converted to the church, be baptized with the one lawful baptism of the church; except those who were formerly baptized in the church, who, when they return, are to be received by the alone imposition of hands, after penance, into the flock, from whence they have strayed."<sup>c</sup>

So that these instances do as clearly prove, that they meant by their imposition of hands absolution, as the former instances do that they meant confirmation; and both of them together plainly show and evidence confirmation and absolution to be the very self-same thing; for since they promiscuously used, and indifferently, applied these terms, and that very thing, which in some places they express by confirmation, in others they call absolution, it necessarily follows that there can be no essential or specific difference between them, but that they are of a like numerical identity or sameness. But,

Secondly, I now come in the next place to demonstrate

<sup>a</sup> Si ergo aut in evangelio præcipitur, aut in apostolorum epistolis, aut Actibus continetur, ut à quacunq[ue] hæresi venientes non baptizentur, sed tantum manus illis imponatur in p[en]itentiam, observetur hæc divina et sancta traditio. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 74, § 2, p. 229.

<sup>b</sup> Retro nusquam omnino præceptum est, neque conscriptum, ut hæretico tantum manus in p[en]itentiam imponatur, et sic ei communicetur. Ibid. § 4, p. 229.

<sup>c</sup> Observetur itaque à nobis et teneatur—ut omnes qui ex quacunq[ue] hæresi ad ecclesiam convertuntur, ecclesiæ unico legitimo baptismo baptizentur, exceptis his qui baptizati in ecclesia prius fuerant, et sic ad hæreticos transierant: hos enim oportet, cum redeant, actâ p[en]itentia per manûs impositionem solam recipi; et in ovile, unde erraverant, à pastore restitui. Ibidem. § 16. p. 232.

that, together with the bishop, and sometimes without the bishop, presbyters did absolve by imposition of hands; that they did it, together with the bishop, several places of Cyprian abundantly prove. "Offenders," saith he, "receive the right of communion by the imposition of hands of the bishop and of his clergy."<sup>a</sup> And, "No criminal can be admitted to communion, unless the bishop and clergy have imposed hands on him."<sup>b</sup> And that sometimes they did it without the bishop, (always understanding his leave and permission,) is apparent from the example of Serapion, who, being out of the church's peace, and approaching the hour of dissolution, "sent for one of the presbyters to absolve him, which the presbyter did, according to the order of the bishop, who had before given his permission unto the presbyters to absolve those who were in danger of death."<sup>c</sup> And as the bishop of Alexandria gave his presbyters this power, so likewise did Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, who, when he was in exile, ordered his clergy "to confess and absolve, by imposition of hands, those who were in danger of death."<sup>d</sup> And, "if any were in such condition, they should not expect his presence, but betake themselves to the first presbyter they could find, who should receive their confession and absolve them by imposition of hands."<sup>e</sup> So that it is evident

<sup>a</sup> Per impositionem manûs episcopi et cleri jus communicationis accipiunt. Epist. 10, § 2, p. 30.

<sup>b</sup> Nec ad communicationem venire quis possit, nisi prius illi et ab episcopo et clero manus fuit imposita. Epist. 12, § 1, p. 37.

<sup>c</sup> Τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μοι τινὰ κάλῃσον—ἐντολῆς δὲ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δεδομένης, τοὺς ἀπαλλαττομένους τοῦ βίου, εἰ δέοιντο, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ καὶ πρότερον ἰκετεύσαντες τύχοιεν, ἀφίεσθαι, ἢν' ἐβέλπιδες ἀπαλλάττωνται. Ex Epist. Alexand. apud Euseb. lib. 6, cap. 44, p. 246.

<sup>d</sup> Si premi infirmitate aliquâ et periculo cœperint, exomologesi facta, et manu eis à vobis in pœnitentiam impositâ. Epist. 14, § 1, p. 41.

<sup>e</sup> Si incommodo aliquo et infirmitatis periculo occupati fuerint, non expectatâ præsentiâ nostrâ apud presbyterum quemcunque præsente

that presbyters, even without the bishop, did absolve offenders, and formally receive them into the church's peace by imposition of hands.

Now then, if the imposition of hands on persons just after baptism, and the imposition of hands at the restitution of offenders, was one and the self-same thing; and if presbyters had power and authority to perform the latter, I see no reason why we should abridge them of the former: both the one and the other was confirmation; and if presbyters could confirm at one time, why should we doubt of their right and ability to perform it another time? If it was lawful for them to impose hands on one occasion, it was as lawful for them to do it on another.

§ 9. From the precedent observation of the identity of that which we now distinguish by the names of confirmation and absolution, it necessarily results that confirmation was not, like baptism, only once performed, but on many persons frequently reiterated. All persons after baptism were confirmed; that is, by the imposition of hands and prayer, the Holy Ghost was beseeched to descend upon them, and so to fortify them by his heavenly grace, as that they might courageously persevere in their Christian warfare to their lives' end; but if it should so happen, as oftentimes it did, that any so confirmed should fall from the Christian faith, and be for a time excluded the church's peace, when they were again admitted, hands were again imposed on them, and the Holy Spirit again invoked, to strengthen them with his almighty grace, by which they might be upheld to the day of salvation; and so often as any man fell, and was restored to the church's communion, so often was he confirmed, and the Holy Ghost entreated more firmly to establish and settle him.

—Exomologesin facere delicti sui possint; ut manu eis in penitentiam imposita, veniant ad Dominum cum pace. Epist. 13, § 1, p. 39.

## CHAPTER VI.

§ 1. Of the Lord's supper. The time when administered. § 2. Persons that received it. None present at the celebration thereof besides the communicants. § 3. The manner of its celebration. In some places the communicants first made their offerings. § 4. The minister began with a sacramental discourse, or exhortation: then followed a prayer, consisting of petitions and praises, which consecrated both the elements at once. § 5. After that the words of the institution were read. § 6. Then the bread was broken, and the wine poured out, and both distributed. Diversity of customs in the manner of the distribution. § 7. The posture of receiving. § 8. After they had communicated, they sung a psalm, and then concluded with prayer, and a collection for the poor.

§ 1. THE first of the Christian sacraments having been so largely discussed, I now come to treat of the other, viz., The Lord's supper: in the handling of which I shall inquire into these three things: 1. The time. 2. The person. And, 3. The manner thereof.

First. As for the time of the celebration. In general, it was at the conclusion of their solemn services, as Justin Martyr writes, "That after they had read, sung, preached, and prayed, then they proceeded to the administration of the eucharist."<sup>a</sup> But as for the particular part of the day, that seems to have been according to the circumstances and customs of every church. In Tertullian's age and country they received it "at supper time;"<sup>b</sup> from which late assembling, it is probable, that the heathens took occasion to accuse them of putting out of lights, and promiscuously mingling one with another. Which accusation may be read at large in Justin Martyr's dialogue with Tryphon, in Minutius Felix, and the apologies of Tertullian and Athenagoras. But whether this was then their

<sup>a</sup> Apolog. 2, p. 27.

<sup>b</sup> In tempore victus. De Coron. Milit. p. 337.

constant season in times of peace, I know not; this is certain, that in times of persecution they laid hold on any season or opportunity for the enjoying of this sacred ordinance: whence Tertullian tells us of their "receiving the eucharist in their antelucan assemblies, or, in their assemblies before day."<sup>a</sup> And Pliny reports, that in his time the Christians "were wont to meet together before it was light, and to bind themselves by a sacrament."<sup>b</sup>

Cyprian writes that in his days "they administered this sacrament both morning and evening."<sup>c</sup> And, "That as Christ administered the sacrament in the evening, to signify the evening and end of the world, so they celebrated it in the morning, to denote the resurrection of their Lord and Master."<sup>d</sup>

All that can be gathered from hence is, that they did not deem any particular part of the day necessary to the essence of the sacrament, but every church regulated itself herein according to the diversity of its customs and circumstances.

§ 2. As for the persons communicating, they were not indifferently all that professed the Christian faith, as Origen writes: "It doth not belong to every one to eat of this bread, and to drink of this cup."<sup>e</sup> But they were only such as were in the number of the faithful, "such as were baptized, and received both the credentials and practicals

<sup>a</sup> Eucharistiæ sacramentum etiam antelucanis costibus. De Coron. Milit. p. 398.

<sup>b</sup> Ante lucem convenire—seque sacramento obstringere. Epist. ad Trajan.

<sup>c</sup> In matutinis sacrificiis—cum ad cœnandum venimus, mixtum calicem offerimus. Epist. 63, § 12, p. 177.

<sup>d</sup> Christum offerre oportebat circa vesperam diei, ut hora ipsa sacrificii ostenderet occasum et vesperam mundi—Nos autem resurrectionem Domini mane celebramus. Ibidem.

<sup>e</sup> Οὐ παντὶ καθήκει μὴ χρῆσθαι τῷ ἄρτῳ, καὶ μὴ πίνειν ἐκ τοῦ ποτηρίου. Com. in Joan. vol. 2, tom. 28, p. 245.

of Christianity."<sup>a</sup> That is, who believed the articles of the Christian faith, and led a holy and a pious life. Such as these, and none else, were permitted to communicate.

Now since none but the faithful were admitted, it follows that the catechumens and the penitents were excluded; the catechumens, because they were not yet baptized, for baptism always preceded the Lord's supper, as Justin Martyr says, "It is not lawful for any one to partake of the sacramental food, except he be baptized;"<sup>b</sup> the penitents, because for their sins they were cast out of the church, and whilst excluded from the peace thereof, they could not participate of the marks and tokens of that peace, but were to be driven therefrom, and not admitted thereto, "till they had fully satisfied for their faults, lest otherwise they should profane the body of the Lord, and drink his cup unworthily, and so be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord."

Hence, when the other parts of divine worship were ended, and the celebration of the eucharist was to begin, the catechumens, penitents, and all, except the communicants, were to depart, as Tertullian says thereof, "Pious initiations drive away the profane."<sup>c</sup> These being mysteries which were to be kept secret and concealed from all, except the faithful; inasmuch as to others the very method and manner of their actions herein were unknown,

<sup>a</sup> Ἡ τροφή αὕτη καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῶν εὐχαριστία—ἥς οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ μετασχεῖν ἐξόν ἐστιν, ἢ τῷ κτερόντι ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ δεδογμένα καὶ ἡμῶν, καὶ λουσαμένων τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ εἰς ἀναγέννησιν λουτρὸν, καὶ οὕτως βιοῦντι, ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς παρέδωκεν. Just. Martyr. Apol. 2, p. 97.

<sup>b</sup> Ἡς οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ μετασχεῖν ἐξόν ἐστιν ἢ—λουσαμένων τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς ἀναγέννησιν λουτρὸν. Apolog. 2, pp. 97, 98.

<sup>c</sup> Ante actam poenitentiam—offerre lapsis pacem, et eucharistiam dante, id est, sanctum Domini corpus profanare audeant, cum scriptum sit; qui ederit panem, aut biberit calicem Domini indignè, reus esset corporis et sanguinis Christi. Cyrillus. Epist. 11, § 1, p. 38.

<sup>d</sup> Pious initiations arceant profanos. Apolog. sup. 7, p. 97a.



which was observed by the pagans, who objected to the Christians the secrecy of their mysteries: which charge Tertullian does not deny, but confessing it, answers, "That that was the very nature of mysteries to be concealed, as Ceres's were in Samothracia."<sup>a</sup>

§ 3. The catechumens with others being gone out, and none remaining but the faithful, the celebration of the eucharist next followed; which brings me to the inquiry of the third thing, viz., The manner of the celebration thereof. But before I meddle therewith, I shall briefly premise this observation, viz., That in some places, as in France and Africa, the communicants first made their offerings, presenting, according to their ability, bread, or wine, or the like, as the first fruits of their increase. "It being our duty," as Irenæus writes, "to offer unto God the first fruits of his creatures, as Moses saith, 'Thou shalt not appear empty before the Lord.'"<sup>b</sup> "Not as if God wanted these things, but to show our fruitfulness and gratitude unto him."<sup>c</sup> Wherefore Cyprian thus severely blamed the rich matrons for their scanty oblation: "Thou art rich and wealthy," saith he, "and dost thou think duly to celebrate the Lord's supper, when thou refuseth to give? Thou who comest to the sacrament without a sacrifice, what part canst thou have from the sacrifice which the poor offer up?"<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Ex forma omnibus mysteriis silentii fides adhibeatur. Samothracia et Eleusinia reticentur. Apolog. cap. 7, p. 674.

<sup>b</sup> Offerre igitur oportet Deo primitias ejus creaturæ, sicut et Moyses ait, non apparebis vacuus ante conspectum Domini Dei tui. Lib. 4, cap. 34, p. 262.

<sup>c</sup> Non quasi indigenti, sed ut ipsi nec infructuosi nec ingrati sint. Lib. 4, cap. 32, p. 261.

<sup>d</sup> Locuples et dives es, et Dominicum celebrare te credis, quæ corbonam omnino non respicis! Quæ in Dominicum sine sacrificio venis, quæ partem de sacrificio quod pauper obtulit, sumis? De Opere et Eleemos. § 14, p. 354.

These offerings were employed to the relief of the poor, and other uses of the church ; and it seems probable that a sufficient quantity of that bread and wine was presented to the bishop, or to him that officiated, to be employed for the sacramental elements, whose consecration next succeeded, which, in the main, was after the following manner :—

§ 4. It is very likely that in many places the minister first began with an exhortation or discourse touching the nature and end of that sacrament which the congregation were going to partake of, that so their hearts might be the more elevated and raised into heavenly frames and dispositions. This may be gathered from the history of an exorcist woman, related by Firmilian, who took upon her to perform many ecclesiastical administrations, as to baptize and celebrate the Lord's supper, which last she did "without the wonted sermon, or discourse ;"<sup>a</sup> which seems to intimate, that in those days it was customary in Lesser Asia, and perhaps at Carthage too, for the minister to make a speech or exhortation before the participation of the sacrament. But whether this practice was universal, or more ancient than Firmilian, I cannot determine ; this that follows was, viz., a prayer over the elements by him that officiated, unto which the people gave their assent by saying, *Amen*. This prayer is thus described by Justin Martyr : "Bread and wine are offered to the minister, who, receiving them, gives praise and glory to the Lord of all through the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and in a large manner renders particular thanks for the present mercies ; who when he hath ended his prayers and praise, all the people say, *Amen*."<sup>b</sup> And, "When the minister had thus

<sup>a</sup> Sine sacramento solitæ prædicationis. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75, § 10, p. 238.

<sup>b</sup> Προσφέρεται τῷ προεσῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος, καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος, καὶ κράματος, καὶ οὗτος λαβὼν αἶνον καὶ ὄξαν τῷ Πατρὶ τῶν δλων

given thanks, and the people said, *Amen*, the deacons distributed the elements."<sup>a</sup> And again, "Bread and wine are offered to the minister, who to the utmost of his abilities sends up prayers and praises, and the people say, *Amen*, and then the consecrated elements are distributed."<sup>b</sup>

From this description, by Justin Martyr, of the sacramental prayer we may observe these few things pertinent to the matter in hand:—

I. That there was but one long prayer antecedent to the distribution of the elements: for he says, "That the minister having received the bread and wine, he offered up prayers and praise unto God in a large manner; and when he had ended, the people said, *Amen*."

II. That this long prayer consisted of two parts, viz., *εὐχὴς*, and *εὐχαριστίας*, as he calls them, that is, petition and thanksgiving; in the former they prayed for the peace of the church, the quiet of the world, the health of the emperors, and, in a word, for all men that needed their prayers, as it is represented by Tertullian: "We pray, saith he, "for the emperors, for all that are in authority under them, for the state of the world, for the quiet of affairs, and for the delay of the day of judgment."<sup>c</sup> In the latter they gave God thanks for sending Christ, and for

διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ Ἁγίου ἀναπέμπει, καὶ εὐχαριστίαν ὅπερ τοῦ καταξιώσθαι τούτων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται· οὐ συντελέσαντος τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, πῶς ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπευφήμει λέγων, Ἀμήν. Apolog. 2, p. 97.

<sup>a</sup> Εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ προεσώτος, καὶ ἐπευφήμησαντος πάντος τοῦ λαοῦ, διάκονοι, &c. Ibid.

<sup>b</sup> "Ἄρτος προσφέρεται καὶ οἶνος καὶ ἕδωρ, καὶ ὁ προεσὼς εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας δὴ δύναμις αὐτῷ ἀναπέμπει, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπευφήμει λέγων, τὸ Ἀμήν, καὶ ἡ διύδοσις καὶ ἡ μετάληψις ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχαριστηθέντων ἐκάσῳ γίνεται. Ibid. p. 98.

<sup>c</sup> Oramus pro imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum ac potestatibus, pro statu sæculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis. Apolog. cap. 39, p. 709.

the institution of that comfortable sacrament, desiring his blessing on, and consecration of, the elements then before them.

III. That by this one prayer both the elements were consecrated at once ; for he says, " The minister took both elements together, and blessed them, and then they were distributed." He did not consecrate them distinctly, but both together.

§ 5. After prayer was ended, they read the words of institution, that so the elements might be consecrated by the word, as well as by prayer. Whence Origen calls the sacramental elements, " the food that is sanctified by the word of God and prayer." And " that is hallowed by the word of God and prayer." <sup>a</sup> And Irenæus writes, " That when the bread and wine receive the word of God, then it becomes the eucharist of the body and blood of Christ." <sup>b</sup>

§ 6. The elements being thus consecrated, the minister took the bread, and brake it—" the bread which we break," or, " the broken bread," <sup>c</sup> as it is styled by Irenæus, and then gave it to the deacons, who distributed it to the communicants, and after that the cup, which the deacons in the like manner delivered. So it was in Justin Martyr's time and country. " The elements," saith he, " being blessed, the deacons give to every one present of the consecrated bread and wine." <sup>d</sup> But in Tertullian's time and country, the minister, and not the deacons, distributed the

<sup>a</sup> Τοῦ ἁγιασθέντος λόγῳ Θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεῖξει ἄρτου—τὸ ἁγιαζόμενον βρῶμα διὰ λόγον Θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεῖξεως. Com. in Matth. vol. 1, 254.

<sup>b</sup> Quando mixtus calix et fractus panis percipit verbum Dei, fit eucharistia sanguinis et corporis Christi. Lib. 5, cap. 4, p. 318.

<sup>c</sup> Panis quem frangimus—fractus panis. Lib. 5, cap. 4, p. 318.

<sup>d</sup> Εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ προεσῴτος—διάκονοι διδόναι ἐκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων, μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου. Apol. 2, p. 97.

elements. "We receive," saith he, "from no one's hands but the bishop's."<sup>a</sup> And yet at the same place, not many years after, "the deacons offered the cup to those that were present."<sup>b</sup> So that herein there was a diversity of customs; in some places the deacons delivered the elements, in others the bishop, or the minister that consecrated them. But whether it was done either by bishop or deacons, it seems probable, that which of them soever did it, they delivered the sacramental bread and wine particularly to each communicant. I find but one example to the contrary, and that was in the church of Alexandria, where the custom was, to permit the people to take the bread themselves from the plate or vessel wherein it was consecrated, as is insinuated by Clemens Alexandrinus;<sup>c</sup> but in most other churches it is likely that the elements were particularly delivered to every single communicant. So it was in the country of Justin Martyr, where "the deacons gave to each one of the consecrated bread and wine."<sup>d</sup> So at Carthage, in the time of Cyprian, "the deacons offered the cup to those that were present."<sup>e</sup> In the time of which father it was usual for children and sucking infants to receive the sacrament, unto whom it was necessary particularly to deliver the elements, since it was impossible for them to take it orderly from the hands of others. And therefore when a little sucking girl refused

<sup>a</sup> Nec de aliorum manu, quam præsidentium sumimus. De Coron. Mil. p. 338.

<sup>b</sup> Calicem diaconus offerre præscentibus coepit. Cyprian. De Lapsis. § 20, p. 283.

<sup>c</sup> Τὴν εὐχαριστίαν τινὲς διανείμαντες, ὡς ἔθος, αὐτὸν δὴ ἑκάστῳ τοῦ λαοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν μοῖραν ἐπιτρέπουσιν. Stromat. lib. 1, p. 198.

<sup>d</sup> Ἡ διάδοσις καὶ ἡ μετάληψις ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχαριστηθέντων ἑκάστῳ γίνεται. Apolog. 2, p. 98.

<sup>e</sup> Calicem diaconus offerre præscentibus coepit. Cyprian. De Lapsis. § 20, p. 283.

he taste the sacramental wine, "the deacon violently forced it down her throat."<sup>a</sup> So it was also at Rome, as appears from what Cornelius reports of his antagonist Novatian, that "when he administered the sacrament, he divided and gave to each man his part; with his two hands he held those of the receiver, saying to him, Swear unto me, by the body and blood of the Lord Jesus Christ, that thou wilt never leave my party, to return to that of Cornelius; so forcing the miserable receiver, instead of saying, Amen, to say, I will not return to Cornelius."<sup>b</sup>

§ 7. As for the posture of receiving, at Alexandria the custom was to "stand at the table,"<sup>c</sup> and receive the elements, which may be supposed to have been after this manner: the bread and wine being consecrated, the communicants came up in order to the communion table, and were standing, received the elements, and then returned to their places again. But whether this was universal I know not, or whether any other postures were used, I cannot determine; only, as for kneeling, if the sacrament was celebrated on the Lord's day, as usually it was, or on any other day between Easter and Whitsuntide, then no church whatsoever kneeled; for, as Tertullian writes, "On the Lord's day we account it a sin to worship kneeling,

<sup>a</sup> Diaconus—reluctanti licet de sacramento calicis infudit. Cyprian. De Lapsis. § 20, p. 284.

<sup>b</sup> Ποιήσας γὰρ τὰς προσφορὰς καὶ διανέμων ἐκάςῃ τὸ μέρος, καὶ ἐπιδοὺς τοῦτο, ἡμύνειν ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐλογεῖν τοὺς τλαιπύρους ἀνθρώπους ναγκάζει, κατέχων ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶ τὰς τοῦ λαβόντος, καὶ μὴ βεῖς ἐς' ἃν ὁμνύοντες εἰπωσι ταῦτα—ἔμοσον μοι κατὰ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μηδέποτε με καταλιπεῖν καὶ ἐπιστρέφαι πρὸς Κορνήλιον· καὶ ὁ ἁθλιος ἄνθρωπος—ἀντὶ τοῦ πεῖν λαμβάνοντα τὸν ἄρτον ἐκείνον τὸ Ἀμὴν, οὐκέτι ἀνήξω πρὸς Κορνήλιον λέγει. Apud Euseb. lib. 6, cap. 43, p. 245.

<sup>c</sup> Τραπέζῃ παρασύντα. Ex Epist. Dionys. Alexan. apud Euseb. lib. cap. 43, p. 245.

which custom we also observe from Easter to Whitsuntide."<sup>a</sup>

§ 8. The elements being thus blessed, distributed, and received, they afterward sung a hymn or psalm to the praise and glory of God, as Tertullian writes: "Then every one sings a hymn to God, either of his own composition, or out of the Holy Scriptures."<sup>b</sup> Then followed, for a conclusion, a prayer of thanksgiving to God Almighty for his inestimable grace and mercy: as the same Tertullian saith, "Prayer concludes this feast."<sup>c</sup> To which was subjoined a collection for the poor. When, as Justin Martyr reports, "every one that was able and willing gave according to his ability, and that that was gathered was committed to the care of the bishop, who relieved therewith the orphans and widows, the sick and distressed, prisoners, travellers, strangers, and, in a word, all that had need thereof."<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Die Dominico—nefas ducimus—de geniculis adorare; eadem immunitate die Paschæ in Pentecosten usque gaudemus. De Coron. Milit. p. 340.

<sup>b</sup> Quisque de Scripturis Sanctis, vel de proprio ingenio, provocatur in medium Deo canere. Apol. cap. 39, p. 710.

<sup>c</sup> Oratio convivium dirimit. Ibidem.

<sup>d</sup> Οἱ εὐποροῦντες δὲ καὶ οἱ βουλόμενοι κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ὃ βούλεται δίδωσι, καὶ τὸ συλλεγόμενον παρὰ τῷ προεσῶπι ἀποτίθεται, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικουρεῖ ὀρφανοῖς τε καὶ χήραις, καὶ τοῖς διὰ νόσον, ἢ δι' ἄλλην αἰτίαν λειπομένοις, καὶ τοῖς ἐν δεσμοῖς οὔσι, καὶ τοῖς παρεπιδήμοις οὔσι ξένοις, καὶ ἁπλῶς τοῖς ἐν χρεῖα-οὔσι κηδεμὼν γίνεται. Apolog. 2, pp. 98, 99.

## CHAPTER VII.

§ 1. Of the circumstances of public worship. § 2. Of the place thereof. In times of peace fixed places for that end, metonymically called churches. § 3. How those churches were built. § 4. No holiness in those places. § 5. Of the time of public worship. § 6. The first day of the week a usual time. § 7. Celebrated with joyfulness, esteemed holy, and spent in a holy manner. § 8. Their reasons for the observation of this day. § 9. The usual title of this day, "The Lord's day." § 10. Sometimes called Sunday, but never the sabbath day. § 11. Saturday, another time of public worship.

§ 1. HITHERTO I have spoken of the several particular acts of the public worship of the ancients: I now come, according to my propounded order, to inquire into the necessary circumstances thereof; by which I mean such things as are inseparable from all human actions, as place and time, habit and gesture. As for habit, as much of that as is controverted, I have spoken to already in that chapter where I discoursed of the minister's habit in prayer. And as for gesture, I have already treated of worshipping toward the east. And of their posture at the reception of the Lord's supper. There is nothing more disputed with reference thereunto, besides the bowing at the name of Jesus, and the worshipping toward the communion table; but both these being introduced after my prescribed time, viz., above three hundred years after Christ, I shall say nothing to them, but pass on to the discussing of the two remaining circumstances of public worship, viz., place and time.

§ 2. First. As for place; this all will readily grant to be a necessary circumstance of divine worship; for if we serve God, it is impossible but that it must be in one place or other. Now one query with respect hereunto may be, whether the primitive Christians had determined, fixed places for their public worship? Unto which I an-



swer, that usually they had ; though it is true indeed, that in times of persecution, or when their circumstances would not permit them to have one usual fixed place, they met wherever they could—"in fields, deserts, ships, or inns ;"<sup>a</sup> yet in times of peace and serenity they chose the most settled convenient place that they could get for the performance of their solemn services ; which place, by a metonymy, they called *the church*. Thus at Rome, the place where the Christians met, and chose Fabian for their bishop, was "the church."<sup>b</sup> At Antioch, Paulus Samosatenus, bishop thereof, ordered certain women to sing psalms to his praise "in the midst of the church."<sup>c</sup> At Carthage, the baptized persons renounced the devil and all his works "in the church."<sup>d</sup> And thus Tertullian<sup>e</sup> very frequently calls their definite places for divine worship "churches."

§ 3. As for the form of these churches, or the fashion of their building, I find this description of them in Tertullian : "The house of our dove-like religion is simple, built on high, and in open view, respecting the light as the figure of the Holy Spirit, and the east as the representation of Christ."<sup>f</sup> The meaning whereof is, that their churches were erected on high and open places, and made very light and shining, in imitation of the Holy Ghost's descent upon the apostles at the day of Pentecost, who came down with fire or light upon them ; and that they were built toward the east, in resemblance of Christ, whom

<sup>a</sup> Πανηγυρικὸν ἡμῖν γέγονε χωρίον, ἀγρός, ἐρημία, ναῦς, πανδοχεῖον, δεσμωντήριον. Dionys. Alex. apud Euseb. lib. 7, cap. 22, p. 268.

<sup>b</sup> Ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Euseb. lib. 6, cap. 29, p. 239.

<sup>c</sup> Ἐν μέσῳ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Apud Euseb. lib. 7, cap. 30, p. 281

<sup>d</sup> In ecclesia. Tertul. De Coron. Milit. p. 336.

<sup>e</sup> In lib. De Virgin. Veland.

<sup>f</sup> Nostræ columbæ domus simplex, etiam in editis semper et apertis, et ad lucem, amat figuram Spiritus Sancti, orientem Christi figuram. Advers. Valentin. p. 284.

they apprehended in Scripture to be called *the East*, concerning which title, and the reason thereof, I have already discoursed in that head concerning praying toward the east, unto which place, to avoid repetition, I refer the reader.

§ 4. But though they had these fixed places or churches for conveniency and decency, yet they did not imagine any such sanctity or holiness to be in them as to recommend or make more acceptable those services that were discharged therein, than if they had been performed elsewhere; for as Clemens Alexandrinus writes, "Every place is in truth holy where we receive any knowledge of God."<sup>a</sup> And as Justin Martyr saith, "Through Jesus Christ we are now all become priests to God, who hath promised to accept our sacrifices in every or in any part of the world."<sup>b</sup> And therefore in times of persecution, or such like emergencies, they scrupled not to meet in other places; but wherever they could securely join together in their religious services, there they met, though it were "in fields, deserts, ships, inns, or prisons,"<sup>c</sup> as was the case and practice of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria. So that the primitive practice and opinion with respect to this circumstance of place was, that if the state of their affairs would permit them, they had fixed places for their public worship, called churches, which they set apart to that use, for conveniency and decency's sake; but not attributing unto them any such holiness, as thereby to sanctify those services that were performed in them.

<sup>a</sup> Πᾶς οὖν καὶ τόπος ἱερὸς τῷ ὄντι, ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τοῦ Θεοῦ λαμβάνομεν. Stromat. lib. 7, p. 520.

<sup>b</sup> Οὐ δέχεται δὲ παρ' οὐδενὸς θυσίας ὁ Θεὸς, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν αὐτοῦ· πάντας οὖν οἱ διὰ τοῦ ὁνόματος τούτου θυσίας——τὰς ἐν παντί τόπῳ τῆς γῆς γινομένας ὑπὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν προλαβὼν ὁ Θεὸς μαρτυρεῖ ἐπαρέχους ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ. Dialog. cum Tryphon. p. 344.

<sup>c</sup> Πανηγυρικὸν ἡμῖν γέγονε χωρίον, ἀγρὸς, ἐρημία, ναῦς, πανδοχεῖον, δεσμωτήριον. Dionys. Alexan. apud Euseb. lib. 7, cap. 22, p. 268.

I know nothing more with respect to place that requires our consideration ; I shall therefore now proceed to inquire into the time of public worship, under which will be comprehended the primitive fasts and feasts.

§ 5. Time is as necessary a circumstance to religious worship as place ; for whilst we are in this world, we cannot serve God at all times, but must have some determinate time to serve him in : that God's people therefore under the law might not be left at an uncertainty when to serve him, it pleased the Almighty to institute the sabbath, the passover, and other feasts, at which times they were to congregate and assemble together, to give unto God the glory due unto his name. And for the same end, under the evangelical administration, there are particular days and seasons appointed for the public and solemn worship of the eternal and glorious Lord, according to the sayings of Clemens Romanus, God hath required us to serve him " in the appointed times and seasons."<sup>a</sup> For which reason we ought to serve him " at those determinated times."<sup>b</sup> That so worshipping him " at those commanded seasons,"<sup>c</sup> we may be blessed and accepted by him.

§ 6. Now the principal and chiefest of these prescribed times was the first day of the week, on which they constantly met together to perform their religious services. So writes Justin Martyr : " On the day that is called Sunday, all, both of the country and city, assemble together, where we preach and pray, and discharge all the other usual parts of divine worship."<sup>d</sup> Upon which account those parts of God's public worship are styled by

<sup>a</sup> Ὁρισμένοις καιροῖς καὶ ὥραις. Epist. 1 ad Corinth. p. 52.

<sup>b</sup> Κατὰ καιροὺς τεταγμένους. Ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Τοῖς προσεταγμένοις καιροῖς. Ibid. p. 53.

<sup>d</sup> Τῇ δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρᾳ, πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μενοντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, &c. Apolog. 2, p. 98.

Tertullian, "The Lord's days' solemnities."<sup>a</sup> Aurelius, who was ordained a lector, or a clerk, by Cyprian, is described in the execution of his office, "by reading on the Lord's day."<sup>b</sup> And Victorinus Petavionensis represents "this day as a usual time wherein they received the Lord's supper;"<sup>c</sup> which was observed by the heathen in Minucius Felix, who mentions the Christians "assembling to eat on a solemn day."<sup>d</sup> And Pliny reports, that the Christians in his time met together "on an appointed day, to sing praises unto Christ, as a God, and to bind themselves by a sacrament."<sup>e</sup>

§ 7. This was the day which Clemens Alexandrinus calls "the chief of days, our rest indeed;"<sup>f</sup> which they observed as the highest and supremest festival. "On Sunday we give ourselves to joy,"<sup>g</sup> saith Tertullian. And before him St. Barnabas, "We keep the eighth day with gladness."<sup>h</sup> And Ignatius, "We observe the Lord's day,"<sup>i</sup> banishing every thing on this day that had the least tendency to, or the least appearance of sorrow and grief, inasmuch that now they "esteemed it a sin either to fast or kneel;"<sup>k</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Dominica solennia. De Anima. cap. 3. p. 530.

<sup>b</sup> Dominico legit. Cyprian. Epist. 33, p. 77.

<sup>c</sup> Die Dominico cum gratiarum actione ad panem exeamus. De Fabric. Mundi apud D. Cave, p. 103.

<sup>d</sup> Ad epulas solenni die coeunt. p. 26.

<sup>e</sup> Essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem, seque sacramento obstringere. Epist. ad Trajan.

<sup>f</sup> Ἀρχέγονον ἡμέραν τὴν τῷ ὄντι ἀνέκτανσιν ἡμῶν. Stromat. lib. 6, p. 492.

<sup>g</sup> Diem solis lætitiis indulgemus. Apolog. cap. 16, p. 688.

<sup>h</sup> Ἀγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ὑπόβην εἰς εὐφροσύνην. Epist. Cathol. § 11, p. 244.

<sup>i</sup> Κατὰ Κυριακὴν ζῶντες ζῶντες. Ad Magnee. p. 35.

<sup>k</sup> Die Dominico jejunium nefas ducimus, vel de geniculis adorare. Tert. De Cor. Mil. pp. 339, 340.

even the Montanists themselves, those rigid observers of fasts and abstinences, "abstained from fasting on this most glad and joying day."<sup>a</sup>

This day they accounted holy, as Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, in his letter to the church of Rome, saith, "To-day being the Lord's day, we keep it holy."<sup>b</sup> The way wherein they sanctified it, or kept it holy, was the employing of themselves in acts of divine worship and adoration, especially in the public parts thereof, which they constantly performed on this day, as has been already proved; and in that forementioned letter, where Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, wrote unto the church of Rome, that that day being the Lord's day, they kept it holy. The manner of sanctifying it is immediately subjoined: "In it," saith he, "we have read your epistle, as also the first epistle of Clemens."<sup>c</sup> And Clemens Alexandrinus writes, "That a true Christian, according to the commands of the gospel, observes the Lord's day by casting out all evil thoughts, and entertaining all good ones, glorifying the resurrection of the Lord on that day."<sup>d</sup>

§ 8. The reason why they observed this day with so much joy and gladness was, that they might gratefully commemorate the glorious resurrection of their Redeemer, which happened thereon. So writes St. Barnabas: "We keep the eighth day with gladness, on which Christ arose

<sup>a</sup> Quantula est enim apud nos interdictio ciborum, duas in anno hebdomadas xerophagiarum nec totas, exceptis scilicet sabbatis et Dominicis, offerimus Deo. Tert. De Jejunio, p. 651.

<sup>b</sup> Τὴν σήμερον οὖν Κυριακὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν διηγάγομεν. Apud Euseb. lib. 4, cap. 23, p. 145.

<sup>c</sup> Ἐν ἡ ἀνεγνώκαμεν ὑμῶν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν—ὥς καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἡμῖν διὰ Κλήμεντος γραφεῖσαν. Ibidem.

<sup>d</sup> Οὗτος ἐντολὴν τὴν κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον διαπραξάμενος, Κυριακὴν ἐκεῖνην τὴν ἡμέραν ποιεῖ, ὅτ' ἂν ἀποβάλλῃ, φαῦλον νόημα καὶ γνωσκὸν προσλάβῃ, τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀνάστασιν δοξάζων. Stromat. lib. 7, p. 535.

from the dead.”<sup>a</sup> So says Ignatius, “Let us keep the Lord’s day, on which our life arose through him.”<sup>b</sup>

And so says Clemens Alexandrinus: “He that truly observes the Lord’s day, glorifies therein the resurrection of the Lord.”<sup>c</sup> Justin Martyr relates that “on Sunday the Christians assembled together, because it was the first day of the week, on which God, out of the confused chaos, made the world, and Jesus Christ, our Saviour, arose from the dead; for on Friday he was crucified, and on Sunday he appeared to his apostles and disciples, and taught them those things that the Christians now believe.”<sup>d</sup> And to the same purpose Origen adviseth his auditors to pray unto Almighty God, “especially on the Lord’s day, which is a commemoration of Christ’s passion; for the resurrection of Christ is not only celebrated once a year, but every seven days.”<sup>e</sup>

§ 9. From hence it was that the usual appellation of this day both by the Greek and Latin churches was, “the Lord’s day.” So it is styled by Clemens Alexandrinus, τὴν Κυριακὴν ἡμέραν, “the Lord’s day,”<sup>f</sup> and amongst the

<sup>a</sup> Ἀγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ὁγδόην εἰς εὐφροσύνην, ἐν ἣ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν. Epist. Catholic. § 11, p. 244.

<sup>b</sup> Κατὰ Κυριακὴν ζωὴν ζῶντες, ἐν ἣ καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἀντέειλεν δι’ αὐτοῦ. Epist. ad Magnes. p. 35.

<sup>c</sup> Κυριακὴν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ποιεῖ—τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀνάστασιν δοξάζων. Stromat. lib. 7, p. 535.

<sup>d</sup> Τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέραν κοινῇ πάντες τὴν συνέλευσιν ποιούμεθα, ἐπειδὴ πρώτη ἐστὶν ἡμέρα, ἐν ἣ ὁ Θεὸς τὸ σκότος καὶ τὴν ὕλην τρέψας, κόσμον ἐποίησε, καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ ἡμέτερος σωτὴρ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστη· τῇ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς Κρονικῆς ἐσαύρωσαν αὐτὸν, καὶ τῇ μετὰ τὴν Κρονικὴν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡλίου ἡμέρα, φανείς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ μαθηταῖς, ἐδίδαξε ταῦτα ἅπερ εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν καὶ ὑμῖν ἀνεδοκαμεν. Apolog. 2, p. 99.

<sup>e</sup> Maximè in dominica die, quæ passionis Christi commemoratrix est: neque enim resurrectio Domini semel in anno, et non semper post septem dies celebratur. In Isaiam, Homil. 5.

<sup>f</sup> Stromat. lib. 5, p. 437, and lib. 7, p. 535.

Latins, by Victorinus Petavionensis, *dies Dominicus*,<sup>a</sup> "the Lord's day."<sup>b</sup> As also by an African synod,<sup>c</sup> and by Tertullian.<sup>d</sup> Sometimes it is simply called, *ἡ Κυριακή*, and *Dominicus*, that is, "the Lord's," without the addition of the word "day," as it is thus called *τὴν Κυριακὴν*, by Ignatius, and *Dominicus*, by Cyprian.<sup>e</sup>

§ 10. So that "the Lord's day" was the common and ordinary title of this blessed and glorious day; though sometimes, in compliance with the heathens, that they might know what day they meant thereby, they called it in their phrase "Sunday," so termed because dedicated to the sun.

Thus Justin Martyr, informing the heathens of the time and manner of the Christians' assemblies, tells them, that "on the day called Sunday they met together for their religious exercises," and that "on Sunday they assembled together."<sup>f</sup> And so Tertullian, upon the same occasion, lets the heathens know that the Christians "indulged themselves on Sunday to mirth and joyfulness."<sup>g</sup>

But though they so far complied with the heathens as to call this Sunday, yet I do not find that they ever so far indulged the Jews as to call it the sabbath day; for through all their writings, as may be especially seen in Tertullian,<sup>h</sup> and Justin Martyr,<sup>i</sup> they violently declaim against sabbatizing, or keeping the sabbath day, that is, the Judaical observation of the seventh day, which we must always understand by the word *sabbatum* in the writings of the ancients, not the observation of the first day, or the Lord's day; for

<sup>a</sup> De Fabric. Mundi apud Dr. Cave, Hist. literar. p. 103.

<sup>b</sup> Dies Dominicus. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 53, § 3, p. 164.

<sup>c</sup> Dominicum diem. De Idolol. p. 623.

<sup>d</sup> Ad Magnes. p. 35.

<sup>e</sup> Epist. 33, p. 77.

<sup>f</sup> Τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρᾳ πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἡ ἀγροὺς μενεσθῶν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται—τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέραν. Apol. 2, pp. 98, and 99.

<sup>g</sup> Diem solis lætitiis indulgemus. Apolog. cap. 16, p. 688.

<sup>h</sup> Advers. Judæos.

<sup>i</sup> Dialog. cum Tryphon.

that was constantly celebrated, as it has been already proved, and by those who condemn the observance of the sabbath day, the sanctification of the Lord's day is approved and recommended, as by Justin Martyr and Tertullian in those passages already cited, unto which we may add that clear passage of Ignatius, "Let us no longer sabbatize, but keep the Lord's day, on which our Life rose."<sup>a</sup> Or as it is more fully expressed in his interpolated epistle, "Instead of sabbatizing, let every Christian keep the Lord's day, the day on which Christ arose again; the queen of days, on which our Life arose, and death was conquered by Christ."<sup>b</sup>

§ 11. So that their not sabbatizing did not exclude their keeping of the Lord's day nor the Christian, but only the Judaical observance of the sabbath, or seventh day; for the eastern churches, in compliance with the Jewish converts, who were numerous in those parts, performed on the seventh day the same public religious services that they did on the first day, observing both the one and the other as a festival. Whence Origen enumerates "Saturday" as one of the four feasts solemnized in his time; though, on the contrary, some of the western churches, that they might not seem to Judaize, fasted on Saturday, as Victorinus Petavionensis writes, "We use to fast on the seventh day," and, "it is our custom then to fast, that we may not seem with the Jews to observe the sabbath."<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Μηκέτι σαββατίζοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ Κυριακὴν ζωὴν ζῶντες, ἐν ἡ καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἀνέτειλεν δι' αὐτοῦ. Epist. ad Magnes. p. 35.

<sup>b</sup> Κατὰ τὸ σαββατίζειν ἐορταζέτω πᾶς φιλόχριστος τὴν Κυριακὴν, τὴν ἀναστάσιμον, τὴν ἑπαυον πασῶν τῶν ἡμερῶν—ἐν ἡ καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἀνέτειλε, καὶ τοῦ θανάτου γέγονε νίκη ἐν Χριστῷ. Epist. Interpol. ad Magnes. p. 149.

<sup>c</sup> Παρασκευῶν. Contra Cels. lib. 8, p. 393.

<sup>d</sup> Die septima—solemus superponere—Parasceve superpositio fiat, ne quod cum Judæis sabbatum observare videatur. De Fabric. Mund. apud D. Cave, p. 103.



So that besides the Lord's day, Saturday was a usual season whereon many churches solemnized their religious services. As for those other times in which they publicly assembled for the performance of divine worship, they will fall under the two general heads of Times of Fasting and Times of Feasting, of which in the following chapters.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

§ 1. Of the primitive fasts, two-fold, occasional and fixed. Of occasional fasts, what they were, and by whom appointed. § 2. Of fixed fasts, two-fold, weekly and annual. Wednesdays and Fridays weekly fasts; till what time of the day observed, and why observed. § 3. One necessary annual fast, viz., Lent. Why they fasted at Lent, and how long it lasted. § 4. Of the manner of their fasts. Three sorts of fasts, viz., Statio, Jejunium, and Superpositio. What those several kinds were, and at what times observed.

§ 1. IN this chapter I shall make an inquiry into the primitive fasts, which may be considered in a two-fold respect, either as occasional, or fixed.

Occasional fasts were such as were not determined by any constant fixed period of time, but observed on extraordinary and unusual seasons, according as the variety and necessity of their circumstances did require them. Thus in times of great and imminent danger, either of church or state, when by their sins they had kindled God's wrath and fury against them, that they might divert his vengeance, and appease his offended majesty, they appointed set days and times for the abasing of themselves before the Lord, for the seeking of his face by praying and fasting, abstaining from the food of their bodies, and practising all external acts of humiliation, as so many indications of the internal contrition of their hearts and souls. So Cyprian,

in the time of a sharp persecution, advised his flock "to seek to appease and pacify the Lord, not only by prayers, but by fastings, and by tears, and by all kinds of entreaties."<sup>a</sup> And when the same father foresaw an approaching persecution, he wrote to Cornelius, bishop of Rome, "That since God was pleased in his providence to warn them of an approaching fight and trial, they ought, with their whole flocks, diligently to fast, and watch, and pray, to give themselves to continual groans, and frequent prayers; for those are our spiritual arms that make us firmly to stand and persevere."<sup>b</sup>

Tertullian jeers the heathens, "That in time of danger or great necessity, after they had voluptuously and sensually glutted themselves, they then run to the capitol, and with all outward signs of humility, deprecated God's judgments, and implored his mercy, whilst in the mean time they were enemies unto him, but," says he, "we, on such emergencies and occasions, abstain from all things, give ourselves wholly to fasting, roll ourselves in sackcloth and ashes, and thus incline God, as it were, to repent, to have mercy and compassion upon us; for by this way God is honoured."<sup>c</sup>

These occasional fasts were appointed by the bishops

<sup>a</sup> Ad placandum atque exorandum Dominum, non voce solâ, sed et jejuniis, et lacrymis, et omni genere deprecationis ingemiscamus. Epist. 8, § 1, p. 22.

<sup>b</sup> Quoniam providentia Domini monentis instruihur—appropinquare jam certaminis et agonis nostri diem, jejuniis, vigiliis, orationibus insistere, cum omni plebe non desinamus, incumbamus gemitibus assiduâ et deprecationibus crebris: hæc sunt enim nobis arma cœlestia; quæ stare et perseverare fortiter faciunt. Epist. 57, § 3, p. 159.

<sup>c</sup> Denique cum ab imbris æstiva, hyberna suspendunt, et annus in cura est, vos quidem quotidie pasti, statimque pransuri, balneis et cauponis et lupanaribus operati, aquilicia Jovi immolatis, nudipedalia populo denunciatis, cœlum apud capitolium quæritis, nubila de laquearibus expectatis, avari ab ipso et Deo et cœlo. Nos vero jejuniis aridi, et

of every church, as they saw fit and necessary. So writes Tertullian: "The bishops are wont to ordain fasts for their churches according as the circumstances of the churches require."<sup>a</sup>

§ 2. The next sort of fasts were set or fixed ones, that is, such as were always observed at the same time and season; and these again were two-fold, either weekly or annual. First, weekly. These were kept every Wednesday and Friday, as Clemens Alexandrinus relates that "they fasted on every Wednesday and Friday."<sup>b</sup> These fasts were commonly called stations, in allusion to the military stations of the soldiers standing when on the guard. Thus Tertullian mentions their "stationary days," and writes that "Wednesdays and Fridays were stations."<sup>c</sup> On these stationary days their fasts ended "at three o'clock in the afternoon;"<sup>d</sup> whence they are called by Tertullian, "the half fasts of stations,"<sup>e</sup> though some on Fridays lengthened out their fast "till evening."<sup>f</sup>

Why they fasted on Wednesday rather than any other day of the week, I cannot find; but on Friday they chose to fast "because Christ was crucified thereon."<sup>h</sup>

§ 3. The next sort of fixed fasts is such as are annual, of which kind they had but one, viz., Lent. And indeed besides this they had no other necessary fixed fast, neither

*omni continentia expressi ab omni vitæ fruge dilati, in sacco et cinere volutantes, invidia cælum tundimus, Deum tangimus, et cum misericordiam extorserimus, Jupiter honoratur. Apol. cap. 40, p. 711.*

<sup>a</sup> *Episcopi universæ plebi mandare jejunia assolent—ex aliqua solitudinis ecclesiasticæ causa. De Jejun. cap. 13.*

<sup>b</sup> *Τῆς νηστείας—τῆς τετράδος καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς. Stromat. lib. 7, p. 534.*

<sup>c</sup> *Stationum dies. De Orat. p. 661.*

<sup>d</sup> *Stationibus quartam et sextam sabbati dicamus. De Jejunio, p. 651.*

<sup>e</sup> *Non ultra nonam detinendum. Tertul. De Jejun. p. 648.*

<sup>f</sup> *Stationum semijejunia. Ibid. 650.*

<sup>g</sup> *Jejunium facimus. Victor. Petav. apud D. Cave, p. 103.*

<sup>h</sup> *Ob passionem Domini. Victor. Petav. ubi antea.*

weekly nor yearly; the faithful were not strictly obliged to the observation of any other, as will be evident from what follows.

It is true, they fasted Wednesdays and Fridays, but this was *ex arbitrio*, of their own free will and choice, not *ex imperio*, of command or necessity. For when the Montanists began to impose as a duty other stinted fasts, they were for so doing branded as heretics. "Who," saith Apollonius concerning Montanus, "is this new doctor? His works and doctrine evidently declare him; this is he that teaches the dissolution of marriages, and prescribes fasts."<sup>a</sup> And for the same practice they were accused by the orthodox "for Galaticising, or committing the error of the Galatians in observing days, and months, and years."<sup>b</sup>

But that the ancients esteemed Lent to be the only necessary fixed fast, and any other, even the stationary days, to be indifferent, will appear most evidently from this ensuing passage of Tertullian. Tertullian being now a Montanist, and defending their prescribed fasts against the orthodox, thus jeeringly exposes the opinions of his adversaries with respect to the necessary determined times of fasting. "Forsooth," saith he, "they think that, according to the gospel, those days are to be prescribed fasts, wherein the bridegroom was taken away, (i. e. Lent,) and those to be the only fasts of Christians, the legal and prophetic fasts being abolished; and that for others we may indifferently fast, according to our will, not out of necessity or command, but according to our circumstances and conditions, and that so the apostles observed, commanding no other fixed and common fasts besides this;

<sup>a</sup> Τίς ἐστιν οὗτος ὁ πρόσφατος διδάσκαλος; τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ διδασκαλία δείκνυσιν· οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ διδάξας λύσεις γάμων, ὁ νηστίας νομοθετήσας. Apud Euseb. lib. 5, cap. 18, p. 184.

<sup>b</sup> Galatia nos quoque percuti aiunt observatores dierum, et mensium, et annorum. Tert. De Jejun. p. 645.

no, not the stationary days, which indeed they keep on Wednesdays and Fridays, and do all observe, but yet not in obedience to any command, or to the end of the day, but prayers are concluded at three o'clock in the afternoon, according to the example of Peter in the Acts.<sup>a</sup>

So that from hence it is evident, that the orthodox apprehended themselves to be free from the necessary observation of the stationary fasts, and to be only strictly obliged to fast on those days wherein the Bridegroom was taken away; or on Lent, from which periphrasis of Lent we may collect both the reason and the duration thereof.

First. The reason thereof, or the ground on which they founded the necessity of this fast, and that was on the saying of Christ in Matthew ix, 15: "The days will come when the Bridegroom shall be taken from them." This they imagined to be an injunction of Christ to all his followers to fast at that time when the Bridegroom should be taken away. The Bridegroom they esteemed to be Christ, the time when he was taken away, his crucifixion, death, and continuing under the power of death to the instant of his resurrection, during which time they thought themselves, by the forementioned command, obliged to fast.

Secondly. From hence we may observe the duration of this fast, or how long it was continued, and that was,

<sup>a</sup> Certè in evangelio illos dies jejuniis determinatos putant, in quibus ablatus est sponsus: et hos esse jam solos legitimos jejuniorum Christianorum, abolitis legalibus, et prophetis vetustatibus,—Itaque de cætero indifferenter jejunandum ex arbitrio, non ex imperio novæ disciplinæ, pro temporibus et causis uniuscujusque: sic et apostolos observasse, nullum aliud imponentes jugum certorum et in commune omnibus obeundorum jejuniorum: proinde nec stationum; quæ et ipsæ suos quidem dies habeant quartæ feriæ et sextæ, passim tamen currunt, neque sub lege præcepti neque ultra supremam diem, quando et orationes fere hora nona concludat de Petri exemplo quoddam refertur. De Jejunio. p. 645.

from the time that Christ the Bridegroom was taken away, to the time that he was restored again, that is, from his passion to his resurrection. Now, according to their various computations of the beginning and end of Christ's being taken away, so was the duration of their fast; some might reckon from Christ's agony in the garden, others from his being betrayed by Judas; some again from his being fastened to the cross, and others from his being actually dead: and so, according to these diversities of computations, were their fasts either lengthened or shortened. This we may probably suppose to be the occasion of the different observations of this fast with respect to its duration, as we find it in Irenæus. "Some," says he, "esteem that they must fast but one day, others two, others more, and some allow to this fast forty hours."<sup>a</sup> Which last space of time seems to have been their general and common allowance; whence this fast was afterward called τεσσαρακοστή, or, quadragesima, that is, not a fast of forty days, in imitation of Christ's fasting in the wilderness, but a fast of forty hours, beginning at Friday, twelve o'clock, about which time Christ was dying, and ending Sunday morning, when Christ arose. So that from twelve o'clock Good Friday, as we call it, when Christ the Bridegroom was taken away, they fasted, in obedience to his command, as they imagined, till Sunday morning, when he was found again by his resurrection, at which time they forgot their sorrow and mourning, concluded their fast, and began the joyful festival of Easter, or of Christ's resurrection.

§ 4. As for the manner of their fasts, we may observe them to be of three sorts, viz., *statio*, *jejunium*, and *superpositio*; *station*, *fasts*, and *superposition*; all which three are

<sup>a</sup> Οἱ μὲν γὰρ οἴονται μίαν ἡμέραν δεῖν αὐτοὺς νηστεύειν, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείονας, οἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ὥρας ἡμερινὰς τε καὶ νυκτερινὰς συμμετροῦσι τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν. Apud Euseb. lib. 5, cap. 24, p. 393.

at once mentioned by Victorinus Petavionensis: "We fast," says he, "till the ninth hour, or till evening, or there is a superposition till the next morning."<sup>a</sup>

I. There was the fast of stations, which ended at three o'clock in the afternoon, or at the ninth hour, as it is called in the forecited passage of Victorinus Petavionensis. This sort of fasting was used on Wednesdays and Fridays, which days, as we have shown before, were called stationary days, and on them divine services were ended at three o'clock in the afternoon, for which reason Montanizing Tertullian terms them "the half fasts of stations."<sup>b</sup>

II. The next sort was strictly called jejunium, or a fast; which, according to the forecited place of Victorinus Petavionensis, lasted till evening: of this sort, it is probable, their occasional fasts were, as Tertullian writes, "In times of necessity and danger we dry up ourselves with fasting, abstain from all meat, roll ourselves in dust and ashes, and by these means cause God to have mercy upon us;"<sup>c</sup> though it is also likely, that in times of more imminent danger they extended those fasts unto that of superposition.

The second sorts of fasts was observed by some on Fridays, who turned the station into a fast, as Victorinus Petavionensis writes, "On Friday, in commemoration of the Lord's passion, I either keep a station or observe a fast."<sup>d</sup>

III. The last sort of fasts was called superposition, or,

<sup>a</sup> Usque ad horam nonam jejunamus, usque ad vesperam, aut superpositio usque in alteram diem fiat. De Fabric. Mundi apud D. Cave, p. 103.

<sup>b</sup> Stationum semijejunia. De Jejun. p. 650.

<sup>c</sup> Denique cum ab imbris æstiva, &c.—Nos jejuniis aridi, et omni continentia aspersi—Invidia cœlum tundimus. Apolog. cap. 40, p. 711.

<sup>d</sup> Ob passionem Domini Jesu Christi aut stationem do, aut jejunium facimus. De Fabric. Mundi apud D. Cave, p. 103.

as by the Greeks, *ἐπέθεσις*, which lasted till the morning of the next day, according to that of Victorinus Petavionensis, "Let superposition be done till the next day."<sup>a</sup>

As for the times when this fast was observed, I find that in some of the western churches, they so kept every Saturday throughout the year, fasting thereon till midnight, or till the beginning of Sunday morning, as Victorinus Petavionensis says, "Let superposition be done on Saturdays, lest we should seem to observe the Jewish sabbath."<sup>b</sup> But not only in these, but in other churches also, they so fasted on Easter eve, or the Saturday preceding that Sunday, which, being Lent, was so necessary and usual, that Tertullian, enumerating those particular acts of divine worship that a Christian woman could not freely perform, if married to a pagan husband, reckons this as one, "That on Easter-eve she could not stay up and watch that night:"<sup>c</sup> but to please her husband, must be diverted from this necessary fast, that ushered in the glorious festival of Easter; which brings me, in the next place, to inquire into this, and their other feasts, of which in the ensuing chapter.

<sup>a</sup> Superpositio usque in alterum diem fiat. De Fabric. Mundi apud D. Cave, p. 103.

<sup>b</sup> Parasceve superpositio fiat, ne quod cum Judæis sabbatum observare videamur. Ibid. p. 103.

<sup>c</sup> Quis solemnibus Paschæ abnoctantem securus sustinebit. Ad Uxor. lib. 2, p. 429.



## CHAPTER IX.

§ 1. Of the primitive feasts, two-fold, occasional and fixed. § 2. Of Easter. § 3. Of Whit-Sunday. § 4. Of Christmas. On what day of the year Christ was born. § 5. Of Epiphany. § 6. Besides these no other feasts in commemoration of Christ, the Virgin Mary, or the apostles. The apostles not called saints in the primitive writings. § 7. Festivals in commemoration of the martyrs. Observed on the annual day of their martyrdom. Persons appointed to take an exact account of the day of their decease. § 8. Why those festivals were observed. The day of the martyr's death termed their birth-days. § 9. The place where these festivals were solemnized. Of the burying-place of the ancients. § 10. The manner of the observation of these festivals.

§ 1. As the primitive fasts were two-fold, so likewise were their feasts either occasional or fixed. As for those that were occasional, I shall pass them over, because not controverted, and come immediately to inquire into their fixed feasts, which, as their fasts, were also two-fold, either weekly or annually. Of their weekly feasts, which were Sundays, and in the oriental churches, Saturdays, I have already discoursed, so that there only remains an inquiry into their annual feasts, which, besides the martyrs' festivals, were two, viz., Easter and Whit-Sunday, or at most three, viz., Easter, Whit-Sunday, and Christmas, of each of which in their order.

§ 2. I begin with Easter, as being the most ancientest feast of all, concerning which Tertullian writes, "We celebrate Easter in the first month every year."<sup>a</sup> Cyprian mentions their "Easter solemnities,"<sup>b</sup> and Origen reckons Easter as one of the four festivals observed in his time.<sup>c</sup> But that they solemnized Easter is a thing so well known, that it will be unnecessary to prove it, especially

<sup>a</sup> Pascha celebramus annuo circulo in mense primo. De Jejun. p. 651.

<sup>b</sup> Solemnia Paschæ. Epist. 53, § 2, p. 131.

<sup>c</sup> Τοῦ Πάσχα. Contra Celsum, lib. 8. p. 392.

since every one knows, or at least might easily know, those sharp contests and debates that were in the church about the time when it should be kept; the whole affair hath been at large related by several hands in our own tongue; amongst others by the most learned Dr. Cave in his "Apostolici," in the life of Irenæus, to which I refer the curious: contenting myself with giving a very brief account of the controversy, which was this: The churches of the Lesser Asia kept their Easter the same day that the Jews kept their passover, on what day of the week soever it happened. The church of Rome, with other churches, kept it the Lord's day after. This diversity of customs created a violent disorder and confusion amongst the Christians; for the church of Rome would impose their usages on the churches of the Lesser Asia, unto which the latter peremptorily refused to submit. To appease these heats and storms, Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, came to Rome to confer with Anicetus, bishop of that church, about it, who agreed that every church should be left to follow its own custom, as accordingly they were to the time of Pope Victor, who revived this controversy, and was so turbulent and imperious as that he excommunicated the Asiatics for refusing to comply with the church of Rome in this matter, condemning them as heretics, loading them with the long and frightful name of Tessareskaidekatitæ, or, Quartodecimani, so called because they kept their Easter *quarta decima luna*, upon the fourteenth day after the appearance of the moon, or at the full moon, on what day soever it happened. But, however, the Asiatics stood their ground, and still maintained their old custom, till the council of Nice, anno 325, by their authority decided this controversy, decreeing, that throughout the whole Christian world, Easter should be observed, not on the day on which the Jewish passover fell, but on the Lord's day ensuing, as it was ever after observed and followed.

§ 3. The next feast that was observed was Whit-Sunday, or Pentecost, in commemoration of the Holy Ghost's descent on the apostles, which also was very ancient, being mentioned several times by Tertullian;<sup>a</sup> and reckoned by Origen for one of the "four festivals observed in his time,"<sup>b</sup> the other three being Sundays, Saturdays, and Easter.

§ 4. As for Christmas, or the time of Christ's nativity, there is a passage in Clemens Alexandrinus which seems to intimate that it was then observed as a festival: for speaking of the time when Christ was born, he says, that those who had curiously searched into it, affixed it to the twenty-fifth day of the month Pachon. But the Basilidian heretics held otherwise, "who also observed, as a feast, the day of Christ's baptism."<sup>c</sup> From which words, "who also," if that be the meaning of the words *δὲ—καὶ*, one might be apt to infer, that the meaning of Clemens Alexandrinus was, that the Basilidians not only feasted at the time of Christ's nativity, but also at the time of his baptism. But whether this interpretation will hold I leave the learned reader to determine. On the contrary, there are other considerations which more strongly insinuate that this festival was not so early solemnized: as that when Origen reckons up the feasts "observed in his age," he mentions not one syllable of Christmas;<sup>d</sup> and it seems improbable that they should celebrate Christ's nativity, when they disagreed about the month and day when Christ was born.

<sup>a</sup> De Coron. Milit. p. 340. De Baptism, p. 604. & De Idololatria, p. 623.

<sup>b</sup> Τὰ περὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν Κυριακῶν, ἢ παρασκευῶν, ἢ τοῦ Πάσχα, ἢ τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς δι' ἡμερῶν γινόμενα. Contra Celsum. lib. 8, p. 392.

<sup>c</sup> Οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Βασιλείδων καὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑορτάζουσι. Stromat. lib. 1, p. 249.

<sup>d</sup> Κυριακῶν—παρασκευῶν—Πάσχα—Πεντηκοστῆς. Contra Celsum. lib. 8, p. 392.

Clemens Alexandrinus reckons "from the birth of Christ to the death of Commodus, exactly one hundred ninety-four years, one month, and thirteen days ;"<sup>a</sup> which years must be computed according to the Nabonassar, or Egyptian account, who varied from this in our year, in that they had only three hundred and sixty-five days in a year, never taking notice of the odd hours, or quadrant of a day, that every fourth year makes a whole day, and are accordingly by us then added to the month of February, which makes the bissextile or leap year. So that though the Egyptians always begun their year with the first day of the month Thoth, yet making no account of the annual odd hours, that month wandereth throughout the whole year : and whereas now the first day of that month is the first day of our March, about seven hundred years hence it will be the first of September ; and after seven hundred years more, or near thereabouts, it will come to the first of March again. Wherefore that we may reduce unto our style this calculation of Clemens Alexandrinus, we must deduce, for those odd hours which are not accounted, one month and eighteen days, and so reckoning the birth of Christ from the death of Commodus, which happened on the first day of January, to be one hundred ninety-four years, wanting five or six days, it will appear that Christ was born on the twenty-fifth or twenty-sixth of the month of December, according to the Julian account, which is the epoch we follow.

But as the same father farther writes in the same place, "There were some who, more curiously searching after the year and day of Christ's nativity, affixed the latter to the twenty-fifth of the month Pachon."<sup>b</sup> Now in that year in

<sup>a</sup> Γίνονται οὖν ἀφ' οὗ ὁ Κύριος ἐγεννήθη ἕως Κομόδου τελευτῆς τα πάντα ἐτη ἑκατὸν ἐννεήκοντα τέσσαρα, μὴν εἰς, ἡμέραι ιγ. *Stromat.* lib. 1, p. 249.

<sup>b</sup> Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ περιεργότερον τῇ γενέσει τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν οὐ μόνον τὸ

which Christ was born the month Pachon commenced the twentieth day of April: so that according to this computation Christ was born the sixteenth day of May. Nay, there were yet some other ingenious men, as the same father continues to write, "that assigned Christ's nativity to the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth of the month Pharmuthi,"<sup>a</sup> which answers to our sixteenth or seventeenth of April: so that there were diversities of opinion concerning the time of Christ's birth, which makes it very probable that there was then no particular feast observed in commemoration of that glorious and transcendent mercy.

§ 5. There is yet another feast called by us Epiphany, wherein there is a commemoration of Christ's baptism, which I find to have been peculiarly solemnized by the Basilidian heretics. For thus Clemens Alexandrinus reports it to be a particular custom of theirs, "to keep as a festival the day of Christ's baptism."<sup>b</sup> The day on which Christ was baptized, "they said to be the fifteenth of the month Tyby, in the fifteenth year of the reign of the emperor Tiberius,"<sup>c</sup> which answers to our one-and-thirtieth of December; or as others imagined it, "on the eleventh of the month Tyby,"<sup>d</sup> which was the seven-and-twentieth of our December.

§ 6. Besides these forementioned festivals, there were none others observed to the honour of the blessed Jesus, nor of the Virgin Mary, nor of the holy apostles and evangelists; and which may be a little observable, it is very

ἔτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν προστιθέντες, ἐν φασὶν—ἐν πεμπτῇ Παχων καὶ εἰκάδι. Stromat. lib. 1, p. 249.

<sup>a</sup> Καὶ μὴν τινὲς αὐτῶν φασὶ Φαρμουθὶ γεγεννησθαι καὶ ἡ κε. Ibid. p. 249.

<sup>b</sup> Οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Βασιλείδου καὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐορτάζουσι. Ibid. p. 249.

<sup>c</sup> Φασὶ δὲ εἶναι τὸ πεντεκαιδέκατον ἔτος Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, τὴν πεντεκαιδεκάτην τοῦ Τυβὶ μηνός. Ibid. p. 249.

<sup>d</sup> Τινὲς δὲ αὐτὴν ἐνδεκάτην τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνός. Ibid.

seldom, if ever, that the ancients give the title of saints to those holy persons, but singly style them Peter,<sup>a</sup> Paul,<sup>b</sup> John,<sup>c</sup> &c., not St. Peter, St. Paul, or St. John.

§ 7. But now there was another sort of festivals which every church celebrated in the commemoration of its own martyrs, which was on the anniversary day of their martyrdoms: they assembled together, where they recited the martyrs' glorious actions, exhorted to an imitation of them, and blessed God for them. So says Cyprian, "The passion of the martyrs we celebrate with an anniversary commemoration."<sup>d</sup> And so writes Tertullian, "Upon the annual day of the martyrs' sufferings, we offer thanks to God for them."<sup>e</sup> When this practice began cannot certainly be determined; it is first found mentioned in the letter of the church of Smyrna to the church of Philomilium, touching the death of Polycarp, wherein they write, "That they had gathered up his martyred bones, and buried them in a decent place, where," say they, "if possible, we will meet to celebrate with joy and gladness the birthday of his martyrdom."<sup>f</sup> Hence, that they might be certain of the very day of the martyr's sufferings, there were some appointed to take an exact account of them, and faithfully register them, that there might be no mistake. Thus Cyprian wrote from his exile to the clergy

<sup>a</sup> A Petro ordinatum. Tert. De Præscript. advers. Hæret. p. 78.

<sup>b</sup> Tunc Paulus, &c. Idem. Scorpiac. advers. Gnostic. p. 615.

<sup>c</sup> Ab Johanne conlocatum. Idem. de Præscript. advers. Hæret. p. 78.

<sup>d</sup> Martyrum passiones et dies anniversariâ commemoratione celebramus. Epist. 32, § 3, p. 80.

<sup>e</sup> Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis annua die facimus. De Coron. Milit. p. 339.

<sup>f</sup> Ἡμεῖς ἀνελόμενοι τὰ τιμώτερα λίθων πολυτελῶν καὶ δοκιμώτερα ὑπὲρ χρυσίων ὅς ᾤ αὐτοῦ, ἀπεθέμεθα ὅπου καὶ ἀκόλουθον ἦν, ἐνθα ὡς δυνατόν ἡμῖν συναγομένοις ἐν ὑγαλλιάσει καὶ χαρᾷ, παρέξει ὁ Κύριος ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν γενέθλιον. Apud Euseb. lib. 4, cap. 15, p. 135.

of his church, "That they should take special care exactly to note down the very day of the martyrdom of the faithful, that so they might be commemorated amongst the memories of the martyrs, and to signify to him the precise time of their departure to a glorious immortality, that so he might also celebrate it."<sup>a</sup>

§ 8. The reasons for which they observed these festivals we find in the forementioned letter of the church of Smyrna, wherein they write "that they would meet to celebrate with joy and gladness the martyrdom of Polycarp, for the commemoration of those who had already gloriously striven, and for the confirmation and preparation of others by their examples."<sup>b</sup> So that their design was two-fold, to animate and encourage others to follow the glorious examples of those heroic martyrs, who were commemorated before their eyes, and to declare the honour and veneration that they had for those invincible champions of Jesus Christ, who by their martyrdoms were now freed from all their miseries and torments, and translated to a blessed and glorious immortality, in a happy manner experiencing the truth of that scripture in Ecclesiastes vii, 1, that "the day of a man's death is better than the day of his birth." Whence the time of the martyrs' deaths was usually termed their birthday, because then was the period of their grief and trouble, and a beginning of their everlasting bliss and felicity. Thus in the forementioned letter of the church of Symrna, concerning the death of Polycarp, they write, "That they would meet to celebrate

<sup>a</sup> Dies eorum, quibus excedunt, annotare, ut commemorationes eorum inter memorias martyrum celebrare possimus—Significet mihi dies quibus in carcere beati fratres nostri ad immortalitatem gloriosæ mortis exitu transeunt, et celebrentur hic à nobis oblationes et sacrificia ob commemorationes eorum. Epist. 37, § 2, pp. 87, 88.

<sup>b</sup> Ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν γενέθλιον, εἰς τε τῶν προηθληκότων μνήμην, καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἄσκησιν τε καὶ ἐτοιμασίαν. Apud Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 15, p. 135.

with joy and gladness the birthday of his martyrdom."<sup>a</sup> And so Tertullian says, that "they annually commemorated the birthdays of the martyrs; that is, their death-days;"<sup>b</sup> as he writes in another place concerning St. Paul, "That he was born at Rome, when he suffered martyrdom there."<sup>c</sup>

§ 9. As for the place where these anniversary solemnities were performed, it was at the tombs of the martyrs, who were usually buried with the rest of the faithful, in a distinct place from the heathens, it being their custom to inter the Christians by themselves, separate from the pagans; accounting it a heinous crime, (if possibly it could be prevented,) to mingle their sacred ashes with the defiled ones of their persecuting and idolatrous neighbours. Wherefore in the ratification of the deposition of Martialis, bishop of Astorga, by an African synod held anno 258. this was one of the articles alleged against him, "That he had buried his sons after the pagan manner, in Gentile sepulchres, amongst men of another faith."<sup>d</sup> And for this reason it was that the surviving Christians would run upon ten thousand hazards to collect the scattered members of the dead martyrs, and decently to inter them in the common repository of the faithful. As when Emilian, the barbarous prefect of Egypt, forbade any, under severe penalties, to entomb the dead bodies of the murdered saints and sedulously watched if any would dare to do it, yet Eusebius, a deacon of Alexandria, "resolutely ventured

<sup>a</sup> Τοῦ μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν γενέθλιον. Apud Euseb. lib. 4, cap. 15, p. 135.

<sup>b</sup> Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis annuâ die facimus. De Cor. Milit. p. 339.

<sup>c</sup> Tunc Paulus civitatis Romanæ consequitur nativitatem, cum illis martyrii renascitur generositate. Scorpiac. advers. Gnostic. p. 615.

<sup>d</sup> Filios—exterarum gentium more apud profana sepulchra depositos, et alienigenis consepultos. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 68, § 7, p. 202.



upon it;<sup>a</sup> and it is applauded by the historian as an act of religious boldness and freedom, whereby Asturias, a Roman senator, rendered himself renowned, in that when "he saw the martyrdom of Marinus at Cæsarea, he took his martyred body, clothed it with a precious garment, bore it away on his own shoulders, and magnificently and decently interred it."<sup>b</sup> And in a letter from the Christians of Lyons and Vienna, in France, to the churches of Asia, concerning their sore and grievous persecutions, we find them passionately complaining of the inhumane cruelty of their persecutors, "That neither prayers nor tears, neither gold nor silver, could prevail with them to permit them to collect the dead bodies of their murdered brethren, and decently to inter them."<sup>c</sup> As on the other hand, the faithful of the church of Smyrna rejoiced that they had gotten the most precious bones of Polycarp, which they buried, *ὅπου καὶ ἀκόλουθον ἦν*, *ubi decebat*, "where they ought,"<sup>d</sup> as Valesius renders it; that is, as seems most probable, at the common burying place of the Christians.

Now it was at these tombs and sepulchres that the memories of the martyrs were solemnized. Thus in the forecited letter of the church of Smyrna to the church of Philomilium, they write that "in that place where they had interred the bones of Polycarp, they would, by the

<sup>a</sup> Τὰς τῶν σωμάτων περιγολὰς τῶν τελείων καὶ μακαρίων οὐκ ἀκινδύνως ἐκτελεῖν. Dion. Al. apud Euseb. lib. 7, cap. 11, p. 61.

<sup>b</sup> Παρὼν τῇνικαδε τελειουμένῳ τῷ μάρτυρι, τὸν ὧμὸν ὅπουθεις ἐπὶ λαμπρᾶς καὶ πολυτελοῦς ἐσθῆτος ἕρας ὁ σκήνος ἐπιφέρεται, περισεύλας τε ἐν μύλῃ πλουσιῶς τῇ προσηκούσῃ ταφῇ παραδίδωσι. Euseb. lib. 7, cap. 16, p. 264.

<sup>c</sup> Τὰ δὲ καθ' ἡμῶς ἐν μεγάλῳ καθεισθήκει πένθει, διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὰ σώματα κρῦψαι τῇ γῇ· οὔτε γὰρ νῦν συνεβάλλετο ἡμῖν πρὸς τοῦτο, οὔτε ἀργύρια ἐπειθεῖν, οὔτε λιτανεῖα ἐδυσώπει, παντὶ δὲ τρόπῳ παρετήρουσαν ὡς μέγα τι κερδαίνοντες, εἰ μὴ τύχοιεν ταφῆς. Apud Euseb. lib. 5, cap. 1, p. 169.

<sup>d</sup> Apud Euseb. lib. 4, cap. 15, p. 135.

blessing of God, assemble together, and celebrate his martyrdom ;”<sup>a</sup> which was a practice so usual and constant as that the heathens observed it : so that as on the one hand, under the persecution of Valerian, Æmilian, the prefect of Egypt, threatened Dionysius Alexandrinus and his fellow-sufferers, that for their obstinacy and ingratitude, as he termed it, he would send them into Lybia, to a desert place called Cephro, “ where they should not meet together, or go to those places called cemeteries.”<sup>b</sup> That is, the places where the martyrs and the rest of the faithful were buried ; so, on the other hand, when Galienus, Valerian’s son, restored peace to the churches, he published an express edict “ for returning to the Christians the cemeteries that were taken from them.”<sup>c</sup>

§ 10. If in the next place it shall be inquired, how they observed these festival days, I answer, that they did not, according to the fashion of the heathens, spend them in riot and debauchery, in bacchanalian revellings and luxury, but in religious exercises and employments, in prayers and devotions. “ He,” saith Origen, “ truly keeps a festival who does what he ought to do, always praying, and by his prayers offering up unbloody sacrifices unto God.”<sup>d</sup>

The solemnities of these feast-days were not drunkenness and gluttony, but acts of piety and charity. Now they publicly assembled, as the church of Smyrna writes

<sup>a</sup> Ἐνθα ὡς δυνατόν ἡμῖν συναγομένοις ἐν ὑγαλλιάσει, καὶ χαρᾷ, παρέξει ὁ Κύριος ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν γενέθλιον. Apud Euseb. lib. 4, cap. 15, p. 135.

<sup>b</sup> Οὐδαμῶς δὲ ἐξέσαι—ἢ συνόδους ποιεῖσθαι,—ἢ εἰς τὰ καλούμενα κοιμητήρια εἰσιέναι. Dion. Alex. apud Euseb. lib. 7, cap. 11, p. 258.

<sup>c</sup> Τὰ τῶν καλουμένων κοιμητηρίων ἀπολαμβάνειν ἐπιτρέπων χωρία. Apud Euseb. lib. 7, cap. 13, p. 262.

<sup>d</sup> Ἐορτάζει γε κατὰ ἀλήθειαν, ὁ τὰ δέοντα πράττων, αἰεὶ εὐχόμενος, διὰ παντὸς θύων τὰς ἀναιμάκτους, ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸ Θεῖον εὐχαῖς, θυσίας. Contra Celsum. lib. 8, p. 392.

in her letter concerning the death of Polycarp, "to commemorate the martyrs' courage and triumphs, and to exhort and prepare others to the same glorious and renowned actions."<sup>a</sup> Or, as Tertullian expresses it, "Now they offered oblations."<sup>b</sup> As Cyprian, "They offered oblations and sacrifices;"<sup>c</sup> that is, they offered thanks and praise to God, that had given grace to those martyrs to seal his truth with their blood, and, in evidence of their gratitude, distributed of their substance to the poor and indigent.

## CHAPTER X.

§ 1. Of the rites and ceremonies : the difference between them. § 2. Of ceremonies : many used by the ancients, which through various ways crept into the church. § 3. Of rites : every church followed its own rites without imposing them on any other. § 4. The members of every church obliged to observe the rites of that church where they lived. § 5. The conclusion of this inquiry, with an earnest persuasion to peace, unity, and moderation.

§ 1. HAVING in the precedent chapters inquired into the several parts of divine worship, and the circumstances thereof, I now come to close up all with a brief appendix concerning rites and ceremonies, by which I mean two different things : by rites I understand such actions as have an inseparable relation to the circumstances or manner of worship ; as for instance, the sacrament was to be received in one manner or other, but whether from the bishop or deacon, that was the rite. Lent was to be observed a certain space of time, but whether one day, or

<sup>a</sup> Εἰς τε τῶν προηθληκότων μνήμην, καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἁσκησίν τε καὶ ἐτομασίαν. Apud Euseb. lib. 4, cap. 15, p. 135.

<sup>b</sup> Oblationes facimus. De Coron. Milit. p. 339.

<sup>c</sup> Celebrentur hic à nobis oblationes et sacrificia. Epist. 37, § 2, p. 88.

two days, or three days, that was the rite thereof. So that rites are the necessary concomitants of the circumstances of divine worship, appendages to them; or, if you rather please, you may call them circumstances themselves.

By ceremonies, I mean such actions as have no regard either to the manner or circumstances of divine worship, but the acts thereof may be performed without them; as for instance, in some churches they gave to persons, "when they were baptized, milk and honey."<sup>a</sup> And, "before they prayed, they washed their hands."<sup>b</sup> Now both these actions I call ceremonies, because they were not necessary to the discharge of those acts of divine worship unto which they were affixed; but those acts might be performed without them: as baptism might be entirely administered without the ceremony of giving milk and honey, and prayers might be presented without washing of hands.

Now, having explained what I intended by the two terms of rites and ceremonies, let us in the next place consider the practice of the primitive church with reference thereunto. And first, for ceremonies.

§ 2. It is apparent that there were many of that kind crept into the church, of which we may say, that from the beginning they were not so: for when "the quire of the apostles was dead, till which time," as Hegesippus writes, "the church remained a pure and unspotted virgin,"<sup>c</sup> then the church was gradually spotted and corrupted, as in her doctrine, so also in her worship, an infinity of ceremonies

<sup>a</sup> *Suscepti lactis et mellis concordiam prægustamus.* Tertul. *De Coron. Milit.* p. 337.

<sup>b</sup> *Manibus ablutis—Orationem obire.* Idem. *De Oratione.* p. 659.

<sup>c</sup> Ὡς δ' ἱερὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων χορὸς διάφορον εἰλήφει τοῦ βίου τέλος —τηνικαῦτα τῆς ἀθέου πλάνης τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλάμβανεν ἡ σύσσις. Apud Euseb. lib. 3, cap. 32, p. 104.

by degrees insensibly sliding in, very many of which were introduced within my limited time, as “the eating of milk and honey after baptism, the abstaining from baths the week after,”<sup>a</sup> “the washing of their hands before prayer, their sitting after prayer,”<sup>b</sup> and many other such like, which, through various ways and means, winded themselves into the church; as some came in through custom and tradition: one eminent man perhaps invented and practised a certain action, which he used himself, as judging it fit and proper to stir up his devotion and affection: others, being led by his example, performed the same; and others again imitated them, and so one followed another, till at length the action became a tradition and custom, after which manner those ceremonies were introduced “of tasting milk and honey after baptism, of abstaining from the baths the whole ensuing week, of not kneeling on the Lord’s day, and the space between Easter and Whitsuntide, of the signing themselves with the sign of the cross in all their actions and conversations, concerning which and the like Tertullian writes, ‘That there was no law in Scripture for them, but that tradition was their author, and custom their confirmer.’”<sup>c</sup> Of which

<sup>a</sup> Suscepti lactis et mellis concordiam prægustamus, exque ea die lavacro quotidiano per totam hebdomadam abstinemus. Tertul. De Coron. Milit. p. 337.

<sup>b</sup> Manibus ablutis—orationem obire—adsignata oratione assidendi mos est quibusdam. Idem. De Orat. pp. 659, 660.

<sup>c</sup> Suscepti lactis et mellis concordiam prægustamus, exque ea die lavacro quotidiano per totam hebdomadam abstinemus—die Dominico nefas ducimus de geniculis adorare: eadem immunitate à die Paschæ in Pentecosten usque gaudemus; ad omnem progressum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum et exitum—quæcunque nos conversatio exercet, frontem crucis signaculo terimus. Harum et aliarum ejusmodi disciplinarum si legem expostules Scripturarum, nullam invenies; traditio tibi prætendetur auctrix, consuetudo confirmatrix. Idem. De Coron. Milit. pp. 337, 340, 341.

custom we may say what Tertullian says of custom in general, that "commonly custom takes its rise from ignorance and simplicity, which by succession is corroborated into use, and so vindicated against the truth: but the Lord Christ hath called himself truth, and not custom; wherefore, if Christ was always, and before all, then truth was first and ancientest. It is not so much novelty as verity that confutes heretics: whatsoever is against the truth is heresy, although it be an old custom."<sup>a</sup>

Others again were introduced through a wrong exposition or misunderstanding of the Scripture; so were their exorcisms before baptism, and their unctions after baptism, as in their proper places hath been already shown.

Finally, others crept in through their dwelling amongst the pagans, who in their ordinary conversations used an infinity of superstitions; and many of those pagans, when they were converted to the saving faith, Christianized some of their innocent former ceremonies, as they esteemed them to be; either thinking them decent and proper to stir up their devotion, or likely to gain over more heathens, who were offended at the plainness and nakedness of the Christian worship, of which sort were, "their washing of hands before prayer, their sitting after prayer, and such like."<sup>b</sup> Concerning which Tertullian affirms that they were practised by the heathens.

So that by these and such like methods it was, that so many ceremonies imperceptibly slid into the ancient

<sup>a</sup> Fere consuetudo initium ab aliqua ignorantia vel simplicitate sortita in usum per successionem corroboratur, et ita adversus veritatem vindicatur: sed Dominus noster Christus veritatem se, non consuetudinem cognominavit. Si semper Christus et prior omnibus, æque veritas sempiterna et antiqua res—Hæreses non tam novitas quam veritas revincit: quodcunque adversus veritatem sapit, hoc erit hæresis, etiam vetus consuetudo. De Virg. Veland. p. 385.

<sup>b</sup> Manibus ablutis—orationem obire—adsignata oratione assidendi mos—gentilibus adæquant. De Orat. pp. 650, 669.

church, of some of which Tertullian gives this severe censure : " That they are deservedly to be condemned as vain, because they are done without the authority of any precept, either of our Lord or of his apostles ; that they are not religious, but superstitious, affected, and constrained, curious rather than reasonable, and to be abstained from because heathenish."<sup>a</sup>

§ 3. As for the rites and customs of the primitive church, these were indifferent and arbitrary ; all churches being left to their own freedom and liberty to follow their peculiar customs and usages, or to embrace those of others, if they pleased ; from whence it is that we find such a variety of methods in their divine services, many of which may be observed in the precedent part of this discourse ; as some received the Lord's supper at one time, others at another ; some churches received the elements from the hands of the bishop, others from the hands of the deacons ; some made a collection before the sacrament, others after ; some kept Lent one day, some two days, and some exactly forty hours ; some celebrated Easter on the same day with the Jewish passover, others the Lord's day after ; and so in many other things one church differed from another, as Firmilian writes, that " at Rome they did not observe the same day of Easter, nor many other customs which were practised at Jerusalem ; and so in most provinces many rites were varied according to the diversities of names and places."<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Quibus merito vanitas exprobanda est, siquidem sine ullius aut Domini aut apostolici præcepti auctoritate fiunt : hujusmodi enim non religioni, sed superstitioni deputantur, affectata et coacta, et curiosi potius quam rationalis officii. Certè vel eo coercenda quòd gentilibus adæquent. De Orat. p. 659.

<sup>b</sup> Circa celebrandos dies Paschæ, et circa multa alia divinæ rei sacramenta videat esse apud alios aliquas diversitates, nec observari illic omnia æqualiter, quæ Hierosolymis observantur, secundum quod in ceteris quoque plurimis provinciis multa pro locorum et nominum diversitate variantur. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75, § 5, p. 237.

So that every church followed its own particular customs, although different from those of its neighbours, it being nothing necessary to the unity of the church to have a uniformity of rites ; for, according to Firmilian, the unity of the church consisted “ in a unanimity of faith and truth,”<sup>a</sup> not in a uniformity of modes and customs ; for, on the contrary, the diversity of them, as Irenæus speaks with reference to the fast of Lent, “ did commend and set forth the unity of the faith.”<sup>b</sup>

Hence every church peaceably followed her own customs, without obliging any other churches to observe the same ; or being obliged by them to observe the rites that they used ; yet still maintaining a loving correspondence, and mutual concord each with other ; as Firmilian writes, “ That in most provinces many rites were varied according to the diversities of names and places ; but yet,” saith he, “ never any one for this broke the peace and unity of the church.”<sup>c</sup> One church or bishop did not in those days anathematize another for a disagreement in rites and customs ; except when Victor, bishop of Rome, through his pride and turbulency, excommunicated the Asiatic bishops for their different observations of Easter from the church of Rome ; which action of his was very ill resented by the other bishops of the Christian churches, and condemned by them as alien from peace and unity, and contrary to that love and charity which is the very soul and spirit of the gospel ; even the bishops of his own party that celebrated Easter on the same day that he did, censured his rashness and violence as unchristian and uncharitable, and

<sup>a</sup> Fidei et veritatis unanimitem. Apud Cyp. Epist. 75, § 2, p. 236.

<sup>b</sup> Ἡ διαφωνία τῆς νηστείας τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τῆς πίστεως συνίστησι. Apud Euseb. lib. 5, cap. 24, p. 236.

<sup>c</sup> Plurimis provinciis multa pro locorum et nominum diversitate variantur, nec tamen propter hoc ab ecclesiæ catholicæ pace atque unitate aliquando discessum est. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75, § 5, p. 237.



wrote several letters, wherein "they severely checked him,"<sup>a</sup> as Eusebius reports, in whose time they were extant, all which are now lost, except the fragments of an epistle, written by Irenæus, and other bishops of France, wherein "they affirm that Victor was in the right with respect to the time of Easter, that it ought to be celebrated, as he said, on the Lord's day, but that yet he had done very ill to cut off from the unity of the church those that observed it otherwise; that it had never been known that any churches were excommunicated for a disagreement in rites, an instance of which there was not only in the time of Easter itself, but in the fast that preceded it: some fasted one day, others more; some forty hours: which variety of observations began not first in our age, but long before us, in the times of our ancestors, who yet preserved peace and unity amongst themselves, as we now do; for the diversity of fasts commended the unity of faith: and as for this controversy concerning the time of Easter, the bishops which governed the church of Rome before Soter, viz., Anicetus, Pius, Hyginus, Telesphorus and Xystus, they never celebrated it the same time with the Asiatics, neither would they permit any of their people so to do: but yet they were kind and peaceable to those who came to them from those parishes where they did otherwise observe it, and never any for this cause were thrown out of the church; even your predecessors, though they did not keep it, yet they sent the eucharist to those that did keep it; and when, in the times of Anicetus, blessed Polycarp came to Rome, and there were some controversies between them, they did not separate from one another, but still maintained peace and love; and though Anicetus could never persuade Polycarp, nor Polycarp Anicetus, to be of each other's mind, yet they communicated one with another; and Anicetus, in honour to Polycarpus, permitted

<sup>a</sup> Πληκτικώτερον καθαπτομένων. Lib. 5, cap. 24, p. 192.

him to consecrate the sacrament in his church, and so they departed in mutual love and kindness; and all the churches, whether observing or not observing the same day, retained peace and unity amongst themselves.”<sup>a</sup>

§ 4. But though one church could not oblige another to a conformity in rites and customs, yet a particular church or parish could enforce its own members to such a conformity; an instance whereof we meet with in that famous controversy about the time of Easter. It was the custom of the Asiatics to celebrate the feast at the full moon, or at the same time with the Jewish passover, on whatsoever day of the week it happened. It was the manner at Rome to observe it

<sup>a</sup> Παρίσταιται μὲν τὸ δεῖν ἐν μόνῃ τῇ τῆς Κυριακῆς ἡμέρᾳ τὸ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναστάσεως ἐπιτελεῖσθαι μυστήριον, τῷ γε μὴν Βίκτορι προσηκόντως ὡς μὴ ἀποκόπτοι ὅλας ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ ὑρχαίους ἔθους παράδοσιν ἐπιτηρούσας—οὐδὲ γὰρ μόνον περὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐξιν ἡ ἁμφισβήτησις, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ εἶδους αὐτοῦ τῆς νηστείας· οἱ μὲν γὰρ οἰονταί μίαν ἡμέραν δεῖν αὐτοὺς νηστεύειν, οἱ δὲ δύο· οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείονας, οἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ὥρας ἡμερινὰς τε καὶ νυκτερινὰς συμμετροῦσι τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν· καὶ τοιαύτῃ μὲν ποικιλία τῶν ἐπιτηρούντων οὐ νῦν ἐφ’ ἡμῶν γεγονυῖα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν—καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλαττον πάντες οὗτοι εἰρήνευσάν τε καὶ εἰρηνεῖομεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἡ διαφωνία τῆς νηστείας τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τῆς πίσεως συνίσχισι—καὶ οἱ πρὸ Σωτῆρος πρεσβύτεροι οἱ προεζάντες τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡς νῦν ἀφηγῇ, Ἀνίκητον λέγομεν καὶ Πίον, Ὑγινόν τε καὶ Τελεσφόρον καὶ Ξύσον, οὔτε αὐτοὶ ἐτήρησαν, οὔτε τοῖς μετ’ αὐτοὺς ἐπέτρεπον, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλάττον αὐτοὶ μὴ τηροῦντες εἰρηνεον τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν παροικιῶν ἐν αἷς ἐτρηεῖτο ἐρχομένοις πρὸς αὐτούς—καὶ οὐδέποτε διὰ τὸ εἶδος τοῦτο ἀπεβλήθησαν τινες, ἀλλὰ αὐτοὶ μὴ τηροῦντες οἱ πρὸ σοῦ πρεσβύτεροι, τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν παροικιῶν τηροῦσιν ἐπεμπον εὐχαρισίαν, καὶ τοῦ μακαρίου Πολυκάρπου ἐπιδημήσαντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Ἀνίκητου, καὶ περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν μικρὰ σχόντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους, εὐθὺς εἰρηνευσαν, περὶ τούτου τοῦ κεφαλαίου μὴ φιλεριζήσαντες πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς· οὔτε γὰρ Ἀνίκητος τὸν Πολύκαρπον πείσαι ἐδύνατο μὴ τηρεῖν—οὔτε μὲν ὁ Πολύκαρπος τὸν Ἀνίκητον ἐπεισε τηρεῖν—καὶ τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων, ἐκοινώνησαν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεχώρησεν ὁ Ἀνίκητος εὐχαρισίαν τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ κατ’ ἐντροπὴν δηλονότι, καὶ μετ’ εἰρήνης ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων ἀπηλλάγησαν, πάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰρήνην ἐχόντων καὶ τῶν τηρούντων, καὶ τῶν μὴ τηρούντων. Apud Euseb. lib. 5, cap. 24, pp. 192, 193.

the Lord's day after, and both these churches quietly followed their several usages, without imposing them on each other. But yet the churches of Asia permitted none of their members to solemnize it after the Roman manner; neither did the churches of Rome, or of the west, license any of their inhabitants to celebrate it after the Asiatic manner; for if either of them had granted any such thing, there must have ensued confusion and disorder, to have seen Easter differently observed in one and the same church; whilst some members of a parish were fasting, to behold others feasting, would have been a perfect ataxy and irregularity: therefore though Anicetus, bishop of Rome, retained peace and unity with foreign churches that differed from him as to the time of Easter, without obliging them to a compliance with the Roman custom, yet he peremptorily required it of the members of his own church, and—"would never permit them"<sup>a</sup> to solemnize that feast on the same time with the Asiatics.

So that though every church had the liberty to use what rites she pleased, yet every particular member had not, but was obliged to observe the manners and customs of that church where he lived, or where he occasionally communicated. A church collective, or the majority of a church with their bishop, could change their old customs, and introduce new ones, as was done in the affair of Easter, the Asiatics at length submitting to the Roman usage; but till that was done, every particular member was required to follow the old customs of that church to which he belonged, and not to bring in any innovations or new rites, because, as was said before, that would beget tumults and disorders, and the person so acting would be guilty of that strife and contention which is condemned by those words of the holy apostle, 1 Corinthians xi, 16:

<sup>a</sup> Οὐτε τοῖς μετ' αὐτοὺς ἐπέτρεπον. Iren. apud Euseb. lib. 5, cap. 24, p. 193.

‘But if any man seem to be contentious, we have no such custom; neither the churches of God.’ Which is as if the apostle had said, If any men, either to show their wit, or to head and strengthen a party, will contradict what we have said, and affirm it to be decent and comely either for men to pray covered, or women uncovered, this should silence such contentious opposers, that there is no such rite or custom in any of the churches of God. Their practice is the very same with what we have directed unto, and therefore to that they ought peaceably and quietly to submit and yield.

Thus now I have finished this inquiry, and have, as far as I could, searched into what was first proposed. If I have not illustrated any point as clearly as might be expected, the reason is, because I found nothing farther pertinent thereunto in those writings to which I am confined; if I had, I should freely have mentioned it. Whether I have been mistaken in the sense or meaning of any passage, I must leave unto my readers to judge; all that I can say is, that I am not conscious to myself of any wilful and designed mistakes, having throughout this whole discourse endeavoured to find out the plain and naked truth, without being biased to any party or faction whatsoever; and if any one shall be so kind and favourable as to convince me of any slips or errors, which I may have committed through inconsideration, or want of due understanding, I shall thankfully acknowledge, and willingly renounce them, and leave them.

§ 5. What hath been related concerning the constitution, discipline, unity, and worship of the primitive church, shall suffice. I have nothing more to add, but mine earnest entreaty and persuasion unto all those into whose hands this little treatise shall fall, to imitate and follow the primitive Christians in their moderation, and the peaceableness of their temper and disposition. In those happy days the

Christians were so eminent above all other sects for their mutual love and charity, that the heathens observed it with astonishment, and cried out with admiration, "Behold, how they love one another!"<sup>a</sup> "We are," saith Tertulian, "ready to die for each other; and we call one another brethren, because we acknowledge one and the same God and Father, and have been sanctified by the same Holy Spirit, and have been brought from the same state of ignorance to the light of the same marvellous truth." But alas! "How is the gold become dim! How is the most fine gold changed!"<sup>c</sup> How is that love and charity now turned into malice and cruelty! Pity, and compassion, and tender-heartedness, have left the world, and envy, hatred, and rancour, are succeeded in their places; love is now exploded as ungentle and mean, charity is condemned as abject and base, whilst hatred, revenge, and fury, are esteemed as noble and generous.

But, "O Lord, how long!" Shall malice and envy, wrath and pride, for ever ride triumphant and uncontrolled? When wilt thou, O Prince of peace, and God of love, heal our breaches, and compose our differences, and cause us, "with all lowliness, and meekness, and long-suffering, to forbear one another in love, endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace?"<sup>d</sup>

We have already too long unnaturally quarrelled, and to the dishonour of God, and the scandal of religion, have most unchristianly abused each other: I speak not this only of one party, but of all: we have all been guilty as

<sup>a</sup> Vide inquit, ut invicem se diligunt. Tertul. Apolog. cap. 39, p. 709.

<sup>b</sup> Pro alterutro mori sunt parati—Fratres nos vocamus—quia unum patrem Deum agnoverunt, qui unum Spiritum biberunt sanctitatis, qui de uno utero ignorantie ejusdem ad unam lucem expiraverunt veritatis. Ibidem, p. 709.

<sup>c</sup> Lam. iv, 1.

<sup>d</sup> Ephes. iv, 2, 3.

to this matter, we have all erred and gone astray from the most holy commandment, and have been deficient every one of us in this great and necessary duty of love and unity: we have loathed concord, and loved jars and divisions, and have been always backbiting, persecuting, and maligning one another to this very day, never at all remembering that we were brethren, and professors of the same blessed and glorious religion.

But what shall I say? This theme is too harsh and displeasing. If it is an unpleasant work to rip up those uncharitable actions, may they be buried in perpetual silence and oblivion, and never more be remembered, so as to stir up anger and revenge, but only so as they may produce in us all humility, repentance, and mutual forgiveness; let us now with our floods of penitential tears at once quench God's anger for our past divisions, and the flames of our present fire and heats, that so there may be no fuel for future contentions; and being grieved that we have played the fool so long, we may now the more firmly resolve, by the grace of God, to do so no more: that so, however infamous we have been heretofore for our blind zeal, and unaccountable animosities, we may for the time to come be highly renowned and conspicuous for our ardent love and fervent charity, "Putting away all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil speaking, with all malice, being kind to one another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven us:"<sup>a</sup> "putting on (as the elect of God, holy and beloved) bowels of mercy, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering, forbearing one another and forgiving one another."<sup>b</sup>

Certain I am we need no arguments to induce us hereunto; both the necessity and facility of love and unity require it at our hands; its necessity is evident from

<sup>a</sup> Ephes. iv, 32, 33.

<sup>b</sup> Colos. iii, 12, 13.

hence, that whilst we spend our zeal and heat about these inconsiderable matters, the very foundations of faith and morals are attacked and shaken : atheism increases, immorality prevails, and those damnable heresies which for many ages have been silenced and abandoned, are now revived by men of a corrupt faith, who take an occasion from the lawlessness and licentiousness of this present age, to vent those cursed tenets which eradicate and destroy all religion ; it is to be feared, that unless we hasten to compose our differences about the skirts and fringes of religion, the very vitals and essentials thereof will be corroded and devoured by heresy and profaneness.

And as for these and the like reasons, the necessity of a union or comprehension is manifest on the one hand, so the facility of such a union is as apparent on the other hand ; for, thanks be to God, our differences are neither about faith nor manners ; we all believe in one and the same God, hope to be saved by one and the same Redeemer, desire to be sanctified by one and the same Sanctifier, receive one and the same Scriptures, assent to the same doctrines, and acknowledge the necessity of the same duties. Our disputes are only about lesser matters, about modes and forms, about gestures and postures, and such like inferior matters, about which it should grieve a wise man to quarrel, and which with the greatest ease in the world might be composed and settled, if managed by men of prudence and moderation ; and such men, it is hoped, are the reverend bishops advanced by their majesties ; whose promotion to those places of dignity and trust many honest and peaceable men look upon as a good omen and prognostic of our future union and happy establishment.

With these two considerations let us remember those solemn vows and engagements which we made to Almighty God, and to one another, in the day of our late distress ; how we then vowed and promised, that if God would be

pleased to deliver and rescue us, we would forget our differences, and mutually condescend and abate of our rigour and severity : wherefore now, since God hath so wonderfully saved us, let us not be so perfidious and faithless as to neglect to perform what we then obliged ourselves unto, but let us willingly and conscientiously discharge it, lest God bring severer judgments on us than ever, and at once utterly destroy us, both root and branch, for our lying, perjury, and hypocrisy.

Many other such cogent arguments I might easily produce ; but that I may avoid too great prolixity and tediousness, I shall urge but one more, which is, that unless we have a uniting spirit, and a peaceable disposition, we are no true Christians, we unjustly arrogate that glorious name ; for the very soul of Christianity is love and charity : “ The kingdom of God,” saith the apostle, “ is not meat and drink,” not zealous disputes and strifes about lesser points, “ but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost ; for he that in these serveth Christ, is acceptable to God, and approved of men.”<sup>a</sup> It is an absurdity and a mere contradiction, for a man to say he is religious, and yet to be malicious and uncharitable. Our Saviour flatly tells us, that “ by this all men shall know that we are his disciples, if we have love one to another.”<sup>b</sup> We may talk what we please of religion, and profess what we list ; the word of God is plain, that whosoever hath not love and charity is no Christian : but to allude to that of Christ, John x, 1, “ He is a thief and a robber,” he hath not the Spirit of God abiding and dwelling in him ; for, “ The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance.”<sup>c</sup> And, “ The wisdom from above is peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruit ;”<sup>d</sup> so

<sup>a</sup> Rom. xiv, 17, 18.

<sup>b</sup> John xiii, 35.

<sup>c</sup> Gal. v, 22, 23.

<sup>d</sup> James iii 17.



that the very soul and spirit of Christianity consists in unity, love, and amity.

Wherefore let my entreaties be prevalent with you to endeavour for a mutual compliance and comprehension, as you have any regard to the honour of God, and the credit of religion ; as you would hinder the growth of damnable errors, and abominable debaucheries, and do what in you lies to prevent the ruin and damnation of multitudes of poor souls ; nay, as you would secure your own salvation, and be able with confidence to appear at the dreadful and impartial day of judgment, let me conjure you, in the name of God, “ to love one another with a pure heart fervently,”<sup>a</sup> “ to follow after righteousness, godliness, faith, love, patience, meekness ;”<sup>b</sup> to forget and pardon all former injuries and affronts ; “ doing nothing,” for the time to come, “ through strife or vain-glory, but in lowliness of mind each esteeming others better than themselves, doing all things without murmuring or disputing,”<sup>c</sup> “ avoiding all foolish and unlearned questions, knowing that they do but gender strifes, behaving yourselves like the servants of the Lord, who must not strive, but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient,”<sup>d</sup> mutually complying with each other, doing all things unto edification ; labouring after peace and unity, that so we may at length “ with one mind, and one mouth, glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.”<sup>e</sup>

And for the accomplishment of this blessed and glorious design, let us above all things avoid pride and vain-glory, which, as it is to be feared, hath no small share both in the causing and increasing of our divisions : we have been so stiff and self-conceited, and have stood so much upon the pitiful punctilios of honour, that we have refused to condescend to one another, or to join in a way of com-

<sup>a</sup> 1 Pet. i, 22.  
ii, 23, 24.

<sup>b</sup> 1 Tim. vi, 11.  
• Rom. xv, 5.

<sup>c</sup> Phil. ii, 3, 14.

<sup>d</sup> 2 Tim.

prehension, or mutual relaxation, which seems to be the only way left for union and agreement, if ever we hope or intend to have it. Wherefore let me address myself unto you in the words of the reverend and moderate Bishop Hall: "Men, brethren, and fathers, help; for God's sake, put your hands to the quenching of this common flame: the one side by humility and obedience, the other by compassion; both by prayers and tears."<sup>a</sup> And as he, so let me, "beg for peace as for life, by your filial piety to the church of God, whose ruins follow upon our divisions: by your love of God's truth, by the graces of that one blessed Spirit, whereby we are all informed and quickened, by the precious blood of that Son of God which was shed for our redemption, be inclined to peace and love; and though our brains be different, yet let our hearts be one."<sup>b</sup> Let us all endeavour, by a compliance and a comprehension, to promote love and charity, peace and unity, that so being children of peace, and obedient subjects of the Prince of peace, the God of peace may bless us with peace, quiet, and serenity here, and at the end of our days receive us into his eternal peace, and everlasting rest; which God of his infinite mercy grant may be the portion of us all, through the merits of his only Son our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen, and amen.

<sup>a</sup> Passion Sermon.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid.

## POSTSCRIPT.

BECAUSE some practices and customs mentioned in the preceding treatise were not from the first plantation of Christianity, but were afterward introduced; and others might not be universal, but only followed in some particular churches, it will not be unnecessary to add a table of the names, age, and country of those fathers, and of their contemporaries, who have been cited by us, that so we may guess at the time when such customs were brought in, and know the places where they were chiefly practised.

NAMES.	COUNTRIES.	AGE.
		A. C.
Several synods held in	Africa between .....	250 &
		260
Alexander, bishop of .....	Jerusalem .....	228
Anonymus apud Euseb. lib. 5, cap. 16, p. 182 .....	Lesser Asia .....	170
Anicetus, bishop of .....	Rome .....	154
The synodical letter of .....	the council of Antioch, held.	265
Apollinaris, bishop of .....	Hierapolis, in Lesser Asia ..	170
Apollonius .....		200
Asturius .....	Palestina .....	260
Aurelius .....	Carthage .....	253
Artemon .....		196
Babylas, bishop of .....	Antioch .....	246
Saint Barnabas .....		50
Basilides, the heretic .....	Alexandria .....	134
Basilides, a bishop in .....	Spain .....	258
Celerinus .....	Carthage .....	253
Letters of the clergy of Rome to the clergy .....	of Carthage, written between	250 &
		258
Clemens, bishop of .....	Rome .....	70
Clemens of .....	Alexandria .....	204
Cornelius, bishop of .....	Rome .....	252
Crescens, bishop of .....	Certa, in Africa .....	258
Cyprian, bishop of .....	Carthage .....	250
Dionysius, bishop of .....	Corinth .....	172
Dionysius, bishop of .....	Alexandria .....	260
Eusebius, a deacon of .....	Alexandria .....	259
Fabianus, bishop of .....	Rome .....	236
Firmitian, bishop of .....	Cæsarea, Cappadocia .....	250

NAMES.	COUNTRIES.	AGE.
		A. C.
Fortunatus, bishop of .....	Ibucabori, in Africa .....	258
Fortunatus, a schismatic .....	in Africa .....	255
Gregory, bishop of .....	Neocæsarea .....	250
Ignatius, bishop of .....	Antioch .....	105
Irenæus, bishop of .....	Lyons .....	184
Justin Martyr .....	Samaria .....	155
Lucius, bishop of .....	Thebeste, in Africa .....	258
A letter of the churches of Lyons and Vienne .....	to the churches of Asia .....	177
Minucius Felix .....	Rome .....	230
Martialis, a bishop in .....	Spain .....	258
Natalis .....	Rome .....	210
Nemesianus, bishop of .....	Thubunia, in Africa .....	258
Novatian .....	Rome .....	252
Origen, a presbyter of .....	Alexandria .....	230
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